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The picture on the cover shows a Prasādhikā of Kuṣāṇa Period discovered at Faizabad—and now preserved in the Bhārāta Kalā Bhavan, Varanasi. Line drawing by Dr. A. L. Srivastava.

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CONTENTS

A FRESH LIGHT ON THE VĀDHŪLA ŚRAUTA SŪTRA

B. B. CHAUBEY

Hoshiarpur.

The author in this paper critically examines in detail the rare and important manuscript of the *Vādhūla Śrauta Sūtra* which throws new light on the Śrauta ritual and its symbols and concludes that *Vādhūla Gṛhyakalpa-Vyākhyā* is not a commentary of the *Vādhūla Śrauta Sūtra.*

The *Vādhūla Śrautasūtra (Vādh. Ś. S.)* is one of the earliest works among the Śrauta-literature. But unfortunately this important work could not draw due attention of the scholars for dint of non-availability of the sufficient manuscript materials. It was not mentioned even by name in most of the books on history of Vedic literature. Prof. Maxmüller in his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* had referred to this work by the name *Vādhūla Sūtra* without giving any account of it[1]. It was Prof. Caland who for the first time worked on it. He published a number of extracts from it in *Acta Orientalia* vols. II, IV and VI and drew certain conclusions therefrom[2]. He also published the results of his study in a paper entitled "Über das Vādhūlasūtra" which was brought out in *Acta Orientalia* Vol. I, part I. He has also pointed out some of the linguistic and

ritualistic peculiarities of the *Vādh. Ś. S.* Dr. C. G. Kashikar in his *Survey of Śrauta Literature* besides summarising the results of Prof. Caland's study has added some new information about the *Vādh. Ś. S*[3]. Presently Mr. Arjuna Arnold, an American student of Agnihotram Tatachariar, is working on a comparative study of the Darśapūrṇamāsa intending to emphasize the *Vādh. Ś. S.* of which he has obtained a copy from the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras. A complete critical edition of the *Vādh. Ś. S.* was still a desideratum. In this paper, an attempt has been made to throw some new light on the *Vādh. Ś. S.*

The manuscript of the *Vādh. Ś. S.* which Caland utilized is deposited in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras under No. R 4375. Another Ms. called *Vādhūlakalpavyākhyā* which Caland has referred to was mentioned in the Report on the working of the peripatetic party of the Government Oriental Manuscript Library Madras, 1916-19. According to Caland these two Mss. viz. *Vādhūla Śrautasūtra* and *Vādhūlakalpavyākhyā* are two separate works, the former being an original text of the Sūtras and the latter a commentary thereupon. The *Vādhūlakalpavyākhyā*, according to Caland, consists of three parts, viz., *Kalpāgamasaṃgraha* by Āryadāsa or Ācāryapāda, *Prayogasandarbha* or *Prayogakalpanā* by *Śivaśroṇa* and *Kārikā*. The *Kalpāgamasaṃgraha*, according to Caland, does not always cite the *pratīkas* nor does it try to explain the sūtras. It deals only with difficult passages and controversies. The second part of the Vyākhyā i.e. *prayogasandarbha* describes the rites exhaustively. Thus, regarding the nature of these two Mss. Caland conclusively holds that the text of the *Vyākhyā* and the *Prayoga* confirms that these two works are based on the Sūtra text.

But my present study of *Vādh. Ś. S.* reveals that Caland's conclusion regarding the existence of a Sūtra text and a Vyākhyā text on the basis of aforesaid two Mss. cannot be taken for granted. A transcript copy of the original *Vādh. Ś. S.* (deposited in Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras under No. R 4375) was prepared in Sept. 1947 by P. Bhashyam for the Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona and the same is deposited there. Another transcript copy of the same original Ms. (deposited in Govt. Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, under No. R 4375) was prepared for the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute Library (now Vishveshvaranand Library, Panjab University) and the same is deposited there in three volumes covering 1200 pages under Nos. 1126, 1127 and 1128, by the name *Vādhūlagṛhyakalpavyākhyā*. Another transcript copy of the *Vādhūlagṛhyakalpa-vyākhyā* covering pages 40 (incomplete) is deposited in the Vishveshvarananda Library, Hoshiarpur under No. 5657. It appears to have been copied from some other Ms., for at many places it supplies the texts which are broken in the other two Mss. The first twenty pages are identical to the first 55 pages of the other Ms. of the *Vādhūlagṛhyakalpavyākhyā*. At the end of the Ms. on the 40th page there occurs a sentence (viz. 'क्रमश: प्रेषयेत) written by the scribe himself which shows that the remaining transcript of the said Ms. was yet to be supplied. The date given on the Ms. is 11.4.27.

After thoroughly comparing the said Mss. for my critical edition of the *Vādh. Ś. S.* I have reached the conclusion that the *Vādhūlagṛhyakalpavyākhyā* is not a commentary of the *Vādh. Ś. S.* divided into three parts viz., *Kalpāgamasaṃgraha*, *prayogasandarbha* or *Prayogakalpanā* and the *Kārikās*, as Caland has taken for granted. As a matter of fact it is rather an original text. The transcript

copies under the names *Vādhūlaśrautasūtra* and *Vādhūlagṛhyakalpa-vyākhyā* are by no means different from one another. Due to mere difference in titles of the two Mss. Caland thought that one was the Sūtra text and the other a commentary thereupon. Contrary to this conjecture of Caland, the similar colophons of the said two Mss. confirm that these two Mss. are not fundamentally different ones. Moreover, neither the titles *Kalpāgamasaṃgraha, Prayogasandarbha,* or *Prayogakalpanā* and *Kārikā* nor the names of Āryadāsa or Ācāryapāda and Śivaśroṇa have been mentioned or referred to in any of these Mss. Really speaking, *Vādhūlagṛhyakalpavyākhyā* consists of two separate works viz. *Vādhūlagṛhyasūtra* and the *Vādhūlaśrautasūtra.* The first 55 pages of the said transcript copy which is deposited in the Vishveshvarananda Library, Hoshiarpur under collection Nos. 1126, 1127, 1128 in three volumes deal with the *Vādhūlagṛhyasūtra* and the remaining 1150 pages cover the *Vādhūlaśrautasūtra.* Similarly the first 20 pages of the other Mss. deposited in the same Library under collection No. 5657, cover the *Vādhūlagṛhyasūtra,* while the remaining 15 pages deal with the Śrautasūtra. An indication to the close of the *Vādhūlagṛhyasūtra* and the beginning of the *Śrautasūtra* is given by the hand of the transcriber. The Śrautasūtra starts with [वागीशाद्याः सुमनसः] सर्वार्थानामुपक्रमे । यं नत्वा कृतकृत्याः स्युस्तं नमामि गजाननम् ॥ अग्नीनाधास्यमानः संभारान् संभरते-ऊखाश्च सिकताश्च etc. The Transcript copy of the *Vādhūlaśrautasūtra* deposited in the Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona does not have the *gṛhyasūtra* portion. This portion of the Ms. was broken as is clearly indicated by the transcriber by the phrase 'अत्र ग्रन्थपातः'. According to Caland at the end of the Ms. of the Vyākhyā there is a commentary on the *Vādhūlagṛhyasūtra.* But this view, too is not correct, for the Mss. which are available to me do not seem to have any commentary on the *Vādhūlagṛhyasūtra.*

Division and Arrangement of the Vādh. Ś. S.

None of the three Mss. available regularly mentions the system and order of division followed in the *Vādh. Ś. S.* However, from their irregular mention of the numbers of divisions we may conjecture that this work, too, like other Śrautasūtras of the *Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda* might have adopted divisions like Praśna, Prapāṭhaka, Anuvāka, Khaṇḍa or Paṭala. It would be clear from the following references to this effect made in both the Mss : —

Division	References to the number of Division	Pages Poona Trns.	Pages Hoshiarpur Trns.
Praśna	इति प्रथमः प्रश्नः समाप्तः	95	406
	अथ द्वितीयः प्रश्नः	96	407
Anuvāka	इति नवमोऽनुवाकः	205	833
	इति दशमोऽनुवाकः	236	927
Deśikā	इति प्रथमा देशिका समाप्ता	21 (Part II)	
	इति द्वितीया देशिका समाप्ता	32	
	इति तृतीया देशिका समाप्ता	44	
	इति चतुर्थी देशिका समाप्ता	52	
	इति समाप्ता देशिका	62	

The text of the *Vādh. Ś. S.* was probably divided into 3 Praśnas each consisting of six Prapāṭhakas. It seems to be evident from the fact that the first Praśna in the Mss. ends with the sixth Prapāṭhaka and the second Praśna starts with the seventh Prapāṭhaka. No mention of the end of the second Praśna and that of both beginning and end of the 3rd Praśna have been made in the Mss. Caland holds that the *Kalpāgamasaṃgrahavyākhyā* and the *Prayogasandarbha* give the number of the Prapāṭhakas and the Anuvākas. But in the Mss. which are available to me references to the

number of Prapāṭhakas are nowhere available. At the close of the Aśvamedha both the Mss. mention the end of the Prapāṭhaka: अश्वमेधाख्यः प्रपाठकः समाप्तः. From this it may be surmised that the Prapāṭhakas might have been designated after the name of the sacrifice dealt with therein. Like other Śrautasūtras, the *Vādh. Ś. S.* generally repeats the closing sentence as to indicate the end of the Prapāṭhaka, e. g. सन्तिष्ठेते दर्शपूर्णमासौ सन्तिष्ठेते दर्शपूर्णमासौ (II. 14.102); सन्तिष्ठते पशुबन्धः सन्तिष्ठते पशुबन्धः (V. 10.32) सन्तिष्ठतेऽग्निष्टोमः सन्तिष्ठतेऽग्निष्टोमः (VII. 11.31) etc.

Mention of the Number of Anuvākas is made only at two places, one at the end of Aśvamedha: 'इति नवमोऽनुवाकः' and the other at the end of the Agnyādheya Brāhmaṇa: 'इति दशमोऽनुवाकः'. The Anuvākas are again subdivided into Paṭalas or Khaṇḍas. However, the mention of the number of the Paṭalas or Khaṇḍas is made in none of the Mss. No specific sign or indication is given in the Mss. as to distinguish the end of an Anuvāka from that of a Paṭala. The sūtrakāra has used the following devices as to indicate the end of a Paṭala :—

1. At the end of a paṭala both of the Mss. give the word 'इति' and sometimes only two commas accompanied with a dash (,,—).

2. At the end of a Paṭala the Mss., with some exceptions, give the opening words or sūtra of the next Paṭala, e.g., अ ं ते योनिर्ऋत्विय इत्यरण्योरग्निँ समारोह्यते ॥ (I. 2.30) ॥

अयं ते योनिर्ऋत्विय इत्यरण्योरग्निँ समारोह्यते । ०यतो जातो अरोचथा । तं जानन्न आ रोहाथा नो वर्धया रयिम्' इति ॥ (I. 3.1).

3. Sometimes the Mss. repeat the final word of the preceding Paṭala at the beginning of the next Paṭala, e.g.

अधिवृक्षे सूर्ये ब्रह्मौदनं निर्वपति–'देवस्य त्वा' इति ॥ (I. 1.24) 'देवस्य त्वा सवितुः प्रसवेऽश्विनोर्बाहुभ्यां पूष्णो हस्ताभ्यामदित्यै जुष्टं निर्वपामि' इति चतुरश्चमसान् व्रीहीणाम् ॥ (I. 2. 1)

The complete division of the text of the *Vādh. Ś. S.*, would be like this :—

Sr. No. of Praśna	Sr. No. of Prapā.		Nos. of Anuvā. (According to Caland)		Nos. of Paṭalas
I	1		6		22
	2		3		14
	3		5		17
	4		5		18
	5		3		10
	6		8		29
II	7 =		7		23
	8 (acc. to Caland)		15		51
	9	9–10	8 (3 + 5)		23
	10	11	9		27
	11	12	4		18
	12	13	5		28
III	13		–		12
	14		10	(Acc. to the Mss.)	13
	15		–		14(5)
	16		–	(5 Deśikās)	93
	17		–		43
	18		–		27
	–	14	10		
	–	15	15	113	

On the authority of the *Prayogasandarbha* Caland holds that the *Vādh. Ś. S.* consisted of fifteen or fourteen Prapāṭhakas (if the two Prapāṭhakas of the Jyotiṣṭoma were

regarded as one). But this view of Caland does not seem to be correct for two understandable reasons. Firstly the contents of the Brāhmaṇa-portion of the *Vādh. Ś. S.* have not been incorporated in any of these Prapāṭhakas. Dr. Kashikar, however, has included the Brāhmaṇa-portion under the thirteenth Prapāṭhaka of Caland. Secondly, the topics which Caland has referred to as constituting the subject matter of the fourteenth and the fifteenth Prapāṭhakas are not found in any of the two Mss. available to me.

The contents of the Vādh. Ś. S.

Generally the Śrautasūtras begin with the description of the Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭi as the latter is the Prakṛti of all the Iṣṭis. But unlike those Śrautasūtras, *Vādh. Ś. S.* starts with the Agnyādheya and in this regard it is nearer to the *Vaikhānasa Śrautasūtra.* The first Prapāṭhaka in its six Anuvākas deals with the Agnyādhāna in 4 Paṭalas, three Iṣṭis Āgneyāṣṭākapāla homa, Aindrāgneya-ekādaśakapāla-homa and Ārambhaṇīyeṣṭi--in five Paṭalas, Punarādhāna in 4 Paṭalas, Agnihotra in 4 Paṭalas, Agnyupasthāna in 3 Paṭalas and Pravasadupasthāna in 2 Paṭalas, respectively. The second Prapāṭhaka in its 14 Paṭalas deals with the Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭi. The Piṇḍapitṛyeṣṭi as a part of Darśapūrṇamāsetṣi has been described in the second paṭala of this very Prapāṭhaka. The third Prapāṭhaka in its 17 Paṭalas deals with the Aiṣṭika Yājamāna including the Pravasadupasthāna, Māhācamasa, Vicchinna-Prāyaścitti, Anvādhāna-Prāyaścitti, Vratopāyana, Havirabhimantraṇa Kapālaprāyaścitti, Sānnāyya-prāyaścitti, Āgrayaṇeṣṭi and Brahmatva of all the sacrifices. The fourth Prapāṭhaka deals with the Cāturmāsyeṣṭi-Vaiśvadeva-parva in four Paṭalas, Varuṇapraghāsa in four Paṭalas, Sākamedha parva with various Iṣṭis viz. Anīkavatī, Sāntapanī, Gṛhamedhīyā, Kṛḍinī,

Mahāhavir, pitryeṣṭi and Tryambakeṣṭi in eight Paṭalas and Śunāsīrīya-parva in two paṭalas. The fifth prapāṭhaka describes the Paśubandha in 10 Paṭalas. The sixth Prapāṭhaka in its 29 Paṭalas describes the Agniṣṭoma-Dīkṣā, Somakraya, Prāyaṇīyeṣṭi, Ātithyeṣṭi, Pravargyopasad, Uttaravedi Saṃbhāra, Yūpakaraṇa etc. With this Prapāṭhaka ends the first Praśna.

The seventh Prapāṭhaka beginning with Prātaranuvāka deals with pātra-sādana, graha-grahaṇa, saṃsarpaṇa and the three savanas, viz., Prātaḥ-savana, Mādhyandina-savana, and Sāyaṃ-savana. The closing Paṭala of the Prātaḥ-savana and a large portion in the beginning of the Mādhyandina-savana are missing. Here both the Mss. clearly mention that the text has been damaged (अत्र ग्रन्थपातः). The eighth Prapāṭhaka in its 51 Paṭalas gives a very detailed account of the Agnicayana. The ninth Prapāṭhaka in 23 paṭalas deals with the Vājapeya, Rājasūya and Sautrāmaṇi. Caland, however takes Vājapeya as the content of the ninth Prapāṭhaka. According to him Rājasūya and Sautrāmaṇi form the subject of the tenth Prapāṭhaka. The description of Sautrāmaṇi is not complete, for the closing portion of the Paṭala is missing. The tenth Prapāṭhaka (=eleventh of Caland) in nine Anuvākas and 27 Paṭalas deals with the Aśvamedha. At the end of this Prapāṭhaka the closing number of Anuvāka 'इति नवमोऽनुवाकः' is given. This Prapāṭhaka (= twelfth of Caland) describes Aptoryāma in four Paṭalas, pavitreṣṭi and Pravargya in 13 Paṭalas. Seeing a sūtra viz. 'द्वादशाहाय दीक्षिष्यमाणः······'in the beginning of this Prapāṭhaka Caland thought that Dvādaśāha is the subject matter of this Prapāṭhaka. With the Pravargya end the Agniṣṭoma rites. The twelfth Prapāṭhaka deals with the Āgniṣṭomika Yajamāna in five Paṭalas. In the next four Paṭalas (6-9) there is a collection of mantras pertaining to the Gṛhya-

rituals viz. removal of the evil effects of a woman in marriage, Nāmakaraṇa, Medhājanana and Pitryupasthāna. Caland regards this mantra-collection as very important as it enhances the significance of the sacrificial rituals laid down in the *Vādh. Ś.S.* According to Caland the mantras which are abridged that is to say, whose middle portion is dropped out, are found in extenso in the mantra-collection. He also holds that even though the collection begins with formulas to be employed at the marriage rite and the other gṛhya-rituals, it also contains mantra which are to be used in the Śrauta rituals. But from the nature of the mantras collected here, it appears that this mantra- collection is a pariśeṣa of gṛhya rituals, hence it should better be called *Gṛhya-pariśeṣa*. It should not be treated as a part of the śrauta sūtra. In the remaining 19 paṭalas of this Prapāṭhaka various groups of mantras dealing with Upavyāharaṇa, Pāpmano vinidhayaḥ, etc. have been given. The last paṭala of this Prapāṭhaka deals with the Dakṣiṇā of the Agniṣṭoma rites to the various priests. Here ends the second Praśna.

The five Prapāṭhakas (XIII-XVII) of the third praśna are of the nature of the Brāhmaṇa. They have been designated as Anvākhyāna. They deal with the liturgical controversies and significance of the rituals of Agnyādheya (12 paṭalas), Agnihotra (13 paṭalas), paśubandha (14 paṭalas), Agniṣṭoma (93 paṭalas) and Agnicayana (34 paṭalas) respectively from the philosophical, psychological, etymological, and symbolical points of view. In these Prapāṭhakas the opinions of Vādhūla have been quoted with great honour as an authority on various issues regarding the performance, interpretation and significance of the rituals. Caland takes Agnicayana-Anvākhyāna as incomplete. But the closing sūtra viz. एतावद्भिर्हास्य यज्ञक्रतुभिरिष्टं भवति

यावतीरेता इष्टका यावानग्निः संचितो य एवं विद्वानग्निं चिनुते यस्य चैवं विद्वानग्निं चिनोति ॥ (xvii. 34.6) clearly indicates the end of the Agnicayana here. The 19th prapāṭhaka in 26 paṭalas deals with the expiatory rites,pertaining to the Iṣṭis, Soma rites and Paśubandha. With this ends the *Vādh.Ś.S.*

Style and Technique of the Sūtras.

The style and technique of composing a sūtra are generally similar to the *Baudhāyana Śrata sūtra.* However it has it's own speciality. A Sūtra consists of three parts viz. initial of the mantra (pratīka), injunction (vidhi) and rest of the mantra(Mantraśeṣa). Generally mantra-pratīka comes in the beginning and then follows the injunctive part and then the rest of the mantra or mantras in abridged form, e.g. 'शृणोत्वग्निः समिधा हवं मे' इति चतुर्गृहीतेन गार्हपत्यस्योद्धते दर्भस्तम्बे हिरण्यमुपास्य जुहोति ॥०शृण्वन्त्वापो धिषणाश्च देवी=हवं च स्वाहा' इति ॥ (I.1.81); 'ऋत्वियवतीस्थ' इत्यस्मै निपदः कालेऽरणी आदधाति ॥०अग्निरेतसौ गर्भं दधाथां ते वामहं ददे त=जनिष्यथः' इति (I.2.23)

Sometimes injunction precedes and mantra in extenso or abridged form follows, e.g. ध्रुवा अस्मिन् गोपतौ स्यात् बह्वीः, इति यजमानं वर्षभं वा गोष्ठं वाऽभिमन्त्रयते ॥ (II.1.13); 'यजमानस्य पशून् पाहि' इत्युत्तरार्धेऽन्यागारस्य पलाशशाखामुपगूहति ॥ (II.1.14)

Sometimes injunction precedes and mantra in extenso or abridged form follows, e. g., पलाशशाखामाच्छिनत्ति या प्राची वोरीची वाऽप्रतिशुष्काग्रा भवति–'इषे त्वा' इति ॥ (I.1.8); अभिपूर्य पूर्वाहुतिं जुहोति –'विश्वे देवस्य नेतुः=पुष्यसे स्वाहा' इति (VI.2.28)

Sometimes a part of injunction precedes; then follows the mantra-pratīka, then the rest of the injunction and then Mantraśeṣa, e.g., तज्जुहोति–'स्योना पृथिवी भव' इत्यौदुम्बर्यै काले दर्भस्तम्बे हिरण्यमुपास्यान्तामाहुतिम् ॥०अनृक्षरा निवेशनी । यच्छा नः शर्म सप्रथः स्वाहा' इति ॥ (VI.1.11)

To sum up, the *Vādh. Ś.S.* is very important work for the study of the Śrauta rituals, for it supplies very significant materials pertaining to the rituals, which no other Śrauta-sūtra supplies. Its Brāhmaṇa portion called Anvākhyāna, too, is very significant for the study of the ritualistic symbols. It is hoped that with the publication of the critical edition of the *Vādh. Ś.S.* we will be able to acquire more information about the Vādhūla recension of which we have very little knowledge so far.

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2. *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. II, 1924, pp. 142-167; Vol IV, 1926, pp. 1-41, 161-213; Vol VI, 1928, pp. 97-241.
   cf. Witzel "Eine fünfte Miteilung Über das Vādhūla-sūtra."
3. C. G. Kashikar, "Survey of the Śrauta Sūtras", *journal of the University of Bombay*, Sept. 1966, Vol XXXV, Part 2 pp. 64-69.

INDRA AND VĀK

M. P. LAKHERA

Allahabad

A passage from the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (VI. 4. 7. 3) has been interpreted by Sāyaṇa etc. as showing that God Indra was the first to analyse language (*Vāk*) grammatically. The author compares this passage with parallel passages occurring in the other Saṃhitās of the *Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda* and the Brāhmaṇas of other Saṃhitās and draws the conclusion that these passages, instead of referring to the grammatical activity of Indra, present a mythological interpretation of the physiological process of the articulation of human speech.

Since A.C. Burnell in 1875[1] pointed to a passage of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (TS)[2] quoted by Sāyaṇa in the introduction to his commentary on the *Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā* (RV) and showed his agreement with Sāyaṇa in interpreting it to mean that God Indra was the first to analyse language (*Vāk*) grammatically, it has become customary, particularly with Indian scholars, to quote this passage while dealing with the origin of Sanskrit grammar, and to echo that the passage

1. In his *Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians*, Trübner & Co., London, 1875.
2. Burnell at that time could not trace the source of the passage, which is TS VI. 4.7.3; *op. cit.* p. 6. In Belvalkar's *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, second revised Edition, 1976, the reference is wrongly printed as VII. 4.7.

"speaks of Indra as the first of grammarians"[3]. Nobody, so far, has taken the trouble to notice the context in which the passage occurs or to compare it with parallel passages occurring in the other Saṃhitās of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda* viz. *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* (MS), *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* (KS), and *Kapiṣṭhala Saṃhitā* (Kap.S.) and the Brāhmaṇas of other Saṃhitās, like the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (ŚB), *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (AB) etc. It is proposed here to have a fresh look at all these passages and to examine how far they substantiate the interpretation of Sāyaṇa or whether they can more cogently be interpreted otherwise and also to see what the Ṛṣis thought about the relation of Indra with Vāk.

The passage in question occurs in the context of the offering of *Aindravāyavagraha,* which is a cup (*graha*) of Soma offered to Indra and Vāyu in unison in the morning-pressing of a Soma-sacrifice. The cup is first divided into two equal parts. The first is filled for Vāyu. The remaining half is again divided into two equal parts, the first of which is filled for Indra and the second again for Vāyu. Thus Indra's share in the cup comes in the middle of the cup. This cup of Soma is held to be a symbol of Vāk and the passage is introduced by the statement-*Vāg Vā eṣa-yad aindravāyavaḥ/yad aindravāyavāgrā grahā gṛhyante vācam evānuprayanti*-'Aindravāyavagraha is verily speech; that the cups (of Soma) are drawn beginning with Aindravāyava, they verily follow speech.' Then the passage runs as follows :

Vag Vai parācy avyākṛtā'vadat/ te devā indram abruvan imām no vācam vyākurviti/so'bravid varam vṛṇai mahyam caivaiṣa

3. S. K. Belvalkar, *op. cit.* p. 9; I. J.S. Taraporewala *Elements of the Science of Language*, p. 426; Yudhiṣṭhir Mīmāṃsaka, *Sanskrit Vyākaraṇa-śāstra Kā Itihāsa*, Vol. I, p. 62 etc.

vāyave ca saha gṛhyātā iti/tasmād aindravāyavaḥ saha gṛhyate/tām indro madhyato'vakramya vyākarot/tasmād iyam vyākṛtā vāg ucyate———TS vi.4.7.3.

Sāyaṇa comments on the passage :

'agnim īḷe purohitam' ityādi vāk pūrvasmin kāle parācī samudradhvanivad ekātmikā satī avyākṛtā prakṛtiḥ pratyayaḥ padam vākyam ityādivibhāgakārigranthararahitā āsīt/tadānīm devaiḥ prārthitaḥ indraḥ ekasminn evapātre vāyoḥ svasya ca somarasagrahaṇarūpeṇa vareṇa tuṣṭaḥ tām akhaṇḍām vācam madhye vicchidya prakṛtipratyayādi vibhāgam sarvatrākarot/tasmād iyam Vāk idānīmapi pāṇinyādimaharṣibhir vyākṛtā sarvaiḥ paṭhyate ityarthaḥ." (Intro. to RV., VSM, Poona ed. p. 26)

Sāyaṇa is obviously swayed by the later specialised meaning of *Vi* + *ā* + √*kṛ*, viz. 'to analyse grammatically', which occurs in the Vedic literature for the first time in the very late *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (GB) of the *Atharvaveda* (AV) in a passage in which inquiry is made about the grammatical formation of the sacred word 'OM'.[4] The forms of *Vi* + *ā* + *kṛ* occur only in this passage in the TS, but it has several occurrances in other Saṃhitās and everywhere it simply means 'to separate, differentiate, distinguish, make distinct' e. g. *Sthaśo janmāni savitā vyākaḥ* RV. II. 38.8 'Savitā has separated all creatures according to their abodes (in the night)'; *Vyākaromi haviṣā aham etau* AV XII. 2.32 'I differentiate these two by oblation'; *etā enī vyākaram khile gā viṣṭhitā iva* AV. VII. 120.4 'I have separated these very same, as cows scattered on a barren land'; *dṛṣṭvā rūpe*

4. *Oṃkāram pṛcchāmaḥ ko dhātuḥ kim prātipadikam kim nāmākhyātam kim liṅgam kim vacanam kā vibhaktiḥ kaḥ pratyayaḥ kaḥ svara upasargo nipātaḥ kim vai vyākaraṇam...,GB.1.24.*

vyākarot satyānṛte prajāpatiḥ KS XXXVIII.1 (7) having seen (different) forms, Prajāpati separated truth and untruth'.[5] Then why not to take here also *avyākṛtā* as meaning 'indistinct' and *Vyākarot* as 'differentiated, made distinct' ?

Secondly, Sāyaṇa seems to have taken 'Vāk' in the restricted sense of 'human speech' and he could think of only two stages of it, viz. when it had no grammar and when it was grammatically analysed. It is common knowledge to Vedic scholars that 'Vāk' in the Vedic literature is used in the very wide sense of any form of expression and denotes both the articulated human speech and the inarticulate sound of thunder[6], of press-stones[7], notes of birds[8], croaking of frogs[9] etc.

With these preliminary remarks on the explanation of Sāyaṇa[10], we now turn to the versions of the other Saṃ-

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5. for other occurrances of *vi+a+kṛ* see Kap. S. VI. 1, VII. 2; MS III. 11. 6; KS VIII. 6; Paippalāda-Saṃhitā (AV) IV. 11.6, XV. 10 5, XVII. 33.3; XVII.35.4, XX. 19.7, XX. 26.5

6. The sound of thunder is very frequently referred to in RV and is called *abhriyā Vāk* (I. 168.8) and *agriyā vācaḥ* (IX. 62) etc. cf. also I.38.4, I. 164. 28-29, V.63.6; IX. 12.6; IX. 14.1; X. 68. 1,4, X. 99.2 etc.

7. Cf. RV I. 83.6, I. 84; III. 58.3; V. 31. 12, V. 37. 2; VIII. 34.2, VIII. 42.4; X. 76. 4; X. 94. 1 etc.

8. In RV II. 42. 1 the bird Kapiñjala is described as *iyarti vācam ariteva nāvam* 'sends forth his voice as a boatman his boat'.

9. In RV VII. 103.5 frogs receive the attribute *Suvacaḥ* 'of good speech'.

10. It is interesting to note that the older commentator of TS, Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara comments on *Vāg vā aindravāyavaḥ* as *vacanaprāṇana-hetū indravāyū*.

hitās of the *Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda*. The MS has the following version:

vāg vā aindravāyavaḥ/sā vai vāg ekadhā 'vadat yāvad avyāvṛttā āsīt/sa indro'bravīn mahyam atrāpi somam gṛhṇīta aham vā etām vācam vyāvartayiṣyāmi iti/ sa vai vācaiva vācam vyāvartayad/ yad aindravāyavo gṛhyate vāco vyāvṛtyai/vāyave prathamam gṛhṇāti vāyavā uttamam madhyato indrāyendriyeṇa vā iyam vāk madhyavidhṛtā/indriyavatīm vācam vadati ya evam veda/ / MS IV. 5. 8.

The KS and Kap. S. present the same version in the following words:

Vāg aindravāyavaḥ · · · · *vāyavyo vā eṣa purā āsīt/sā vāk sṛṣṭā na vyāvartata adhvanad eva/ sa indro 'bravīn, mahyam atrāpi gṛhyatām aham etām vyāvartayiṣyāmi iti / tata etam aindravāyavam agṛhṇan/seyam vāg indriyeṇa vyāvṛttā vadati/* / KS XVII.3, Kap.S. XXXXII.3.

A comparison of all these versions yields the following information:

(i) All the versions take the *Aindravāyavagraha* as a symbol of Vāk.

(ii) The MS, KS and Kap.S have substituted *vi + ā + vṛt* in place of *vi + ā + kṛ* of TS. *vi + ā + Vṛt* means 'to be separated, to become distinct or distinguished' e.g. *pañca vā ṛtavo...ekayā vyāhṛtyā vyāvartayai* (I separate); *tasmād ṛtavo vyāvartante* (are separated) KS XX. 10; *pāpmanā eva enam vyāvartayati* (separates) TS VI. 1.3,4; *Vyāvṛtte devayajane yājayet* TS VI. 2.6.4 'he should make him to sacrifice in

a distinct place of sacrifice'.[11] *Vi+ā+vṛt* cannot, by any stretch of imagination, mean 'to analyse grammatically', and this substitute of *vi+ā+√kṛ* in the TS makes it abundantly clear that what is meant by it is not at all 'to analyse grammatically' but to 'separate, make distinct'.

(iii) The *Vāk*, before Indra took part in its manifestation, spoke only in one way (*ekadhā avadat* MS.), it was not distinct and just sounded (*na vyāvartata adhvanad eva* KS, Kap.S), that is to say, it was just a sound and did not have distinctive sound units, which constitute human speech.

(iv) When Indra received a share, he separated sound from sound (*vācaiva vācam vyāvartayat* MS)[12] and thus this Vāk speaks, being made distinct by the force of Indra (*indriyeṇa vyāvṛttā vadati*).

In the light of the above observations, we understand that the seers hold Indra responsible for turning the inarticulate sound into articulate speech. If still any doubt remains about this function of Indra, it is removed by the elaborate version of this legend in ŚB which may here be related briefly :

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11. Cf. also MS II. 5.9; III. 8.4; KS XIX.6; XXV. 3,5; XXVI 2; XXVII.3; XXX. 9; Kap. S. XXXI. 12; XXXVIII.6; XXXIX. 2; XL.5 etc.

12. The instrumental in *vācaiva vācam* does not mean 'sound with or by sound', but with the verb vi+ā+vṛt, it has the special sense of 'from' and thus means 'sound from sound'. Cf. Macdonell *A Vedic Grammar For Students*, p. 308, 16.

Indra having hurled his thunderbolt at Vṛtra hid himself together with the gods. They did not know whether Vṛtra was killed. So they requested Vāyu, the swiftest of them, to go and report whether Vṛtra had died or not. Vāyu asked for a reward and was promised the first share in the Soma-draught. Then Vāyu brought the happy news that Vṛtra was killed. Now Indra became jealous of Vāyu and asked for a share of Soma for himself together with Vāyu. Indra, being asked what would be gained by giving him a share with Vāyu in the same cup, replied that by giving him a share the speech would speak distinctly *(niruktameva*[13] *vāg vadet).* The gods granted Indra's request, but then a quarrel started between Indra and Vāyu about the division of their shares. Indra insisted that he should have one half of the cup and Vāyu should be given only one fourth of it, while Vāyu made the same claim for himself. They went to Prajāpati for decision. Prajāpati divided the cup in two equal parts and allotted the first half to Vāyu. Again he divided the second half in two equal parts, of which the first was given to Indra and the last one to Vāyu. Thus Indra received only one-fourth of the cup. At this Indra said that his share being only one fourth of the cup, that much of speech would speak distinctly. Now the Brāhmaṇa concludes by stating "Hence only that fourth part of speech is intelligible, which men speak, but that fourth part of speech which beasts speak is unintelligible,' and that fourth part

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13. Though Eggeling has translated *niruktam* of the text as 'intelligibly' in the body, but in the footnote 3, he gives the alternatives 'or articulately, distinctly'.

of speech which birds speak is unintelligible; and that fourth part of speech which small vermin here speaks is unintelligible" (Eggeling's translation, SBE, vol.XXVI,p. 268); SB IV. 1.3.1-16. Then the Brāhmaṇa quotes *catvāri vāk parimitā padāni* etc. (RV.I. 164.45) for its support.

This version of ŚB leaves us in no doubt that Indra's share in the *Aindravāyavagraha,* which is a symbol of Vāk, produces human speech with its distinctly articulated sound-units, while the three-fourth of the cup, which belongs to Vāyu only creates inarticulate sounds of beasts, birds and vermins.

The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (AB) relates a different legend in the context of the *Aindravāyavagraha.* According to it all the gods desired the first share of Soma. They decided to run a race and whoever came first would have the first-share. Vāyu reached the goal first, closely followed by Indra. Indra said to Vāyu that let him be declared co-winner with him (Vāyu) and he would be contented by having only one-third of the prize. Vāyu did not agree. Then Indra came down to one-fourth of the prize i. e. of the first draught of Soma and Vāyu agreed to it. Hence, the Brāhmaṇa states ,only one-fourth of the *Aindravāyavagraha* is filled for Indra and three-fourth of it for Vāyu, The Brāhmaṇa then explains that the *Aindravāyavagraha* represents speech and breath *(Vāk ca prāṇaś ca aindravāyavaḥ);* Vāyu is breath *(Vāyur hi prāṇaḥ),* speech belongs to Indra *(vāg ghi aindrī).* AB I.9.1-2.

The above statement of AB clearly shows that what is meant by holding *Aindravāyavagraha* as a symbol of Vāk is to present in mythological garb the physiological process of the articulation of human Speech. Vāyu is the presiding

deity of breath, which is the primary substance of speech[14] and Indra, the presiding deity of all activities [15], is the stirring force in the activity of the vocal organs. Until these organs of speech are activised, breath by itself can not produce articulate sounds. Thus Indra plays the vital role in the production of human speech.[16]

The imagination of the Vedic Ṛṣis was very early inspired by the sound of thunder, which formed a very important element in Indra-Vṛtra myth and as we have already seen, the Vāk (sound) produced by the thunderbolt of Indra is alluded to in innumerable passages in the RV. Very powerful enemies of Indra are said to have been destroyed even by the loud roar of Indra's thunderbolt *(vajrasya yat te nihatasya śuṣmāt svanāc cid indra paramo dadāra* (RV VI.27.4). Soma is often conceived as the bolt *(Vajra)* of Indra *(indrasya vajro vṛṣabho vibhūvasuḥ somohṛde pavate cāru matsaraḥ* RV. IX. 72.7)[17] and is very often described as impelling the sound of thunder which are called *agriyo vācaḥ* i. e. 'the first sounds' *(tvam samudriyā apo 'griyo vāca irayan* RV. IX. 62.26).[18]

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14. Cf. *Ṛktantra* I.1–*atha vāco vṛttim vyākyāsyāmaḥ/vāyum prakṛtim ācāryāḥ/*
15. Cf. Pippalāda Saṃhitā (AV) XV. 7.9 *Indraḥ Karmaṇām adhyakṣaḥ*; Cf. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*. 64 'energetic action is a characteristic of him'.
16. It is interesting to note that Ṣaḍguruśiṣya commenting on AB. I. 9.2 *Vāg ghi aindrī* states *indrasya hi vācā sambandhho 'sti* and in his support quotes RV. X.54.4 *catvāri te asuryāṇi nāma* etc. '(O Indra) four are thy feats of power'. Thus Ṣaḍguruśiṣya thinks that the production of human speech is one of the feats of Indra.
17. Cf. also IX. 77. 1; IX. III. 3 etc.
18. Cf. also IX. 62.25; 72. 1, 78. 1, 84.4, 86. 12 etc.

Thus to the Vedic seers the *abhriyā vāk*, i. e. the sound of thunder is the *agriyā vāk*, the primary sound and Vāk herself has been made to declare (RV X. 125. 7) that her place of origin are the atmospheric waters (*mama yonir apsu antaḥ samudre*). To the Ṛsis these sounds of thunder were powerful prayers (*stutilakṣaṇā vāk*)[19] and Indra is sometimes compared to a wheel which causes prayers to roll on (RV. IV. 31. 4), Indra being the wielder of the thunderbolt, was naturally the impeller of the sound of thunder.[20] Soma is sometimes given the epithet of *Vācaspati* 'Lord of Vāk' (RV. IX. 26. 4; 101.5), which also establishes the lordship of Indra over Vāk, for soma itself is the *Vajra* in the hands of Indra. In the RV Vāyu is sometimes described as *indrasārathih* (RV IV. 46. 3;48.2) 'having Indra for his charioeter', that is to say, it is Indra who impels Vāyu. There are half a dozen hymns in RV addressed to Indravāyū, which shows the close relation of these two divinities. From this early interest in the phenomenon of sound, the Ṛsis made keen observations about the human speech also, which was the vehicle of their prayers to the gods and in this respect they could notice the important role of the tongue (*jihvā*) in the production of speech, which is evident from such allusions as *Jihvā vācaḥ purogavi* RV X. 137.7 'tongue is the precursor of speech', *ṛtasya tantur vitataḥ pavitra ā jihvāyā agre varuṇasya māyayā* RV IX.73.9 'the thread of ṛta (sacrifice) is spread by the magic power of Varuṇa on the filter of the tip of tongue, i. e. the Yajña is spread by the prayers uttered by the tongue'; *jihvayā vāvadat* RV.VI 59. 6 'speaking loudly with tongue'. The tongue (*jihvā*) has also

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19. Cf. RV X. 68. 1 where *abhriyasya ghoṣāḥ* 'the sounds of thunder' are called *arkāḥ* 'prayers'.

20. *Indro vākasya vakṣaṇiḥ* RV. VIII. 59.6 'Indra is the impeller of Vāk'.

been used as a synonym of speech, e.g. *yadvo devāś cakṛma jihvayā guru manaso vā prayuti devaheḍanam* X. 37. 12 'O Gods, whatever we may have done to make the gods angry by our tongue i. e. speech, thought or action'. This interest of the Ṛṣis in the phenomenon of sound, which had started with the sound of thunder, later on inspired them to observe their own articulated speech minutely and with the passage of time this sustained interest in speech bore rich fruits in the form of the Śikṣās and Prātiśākhyas, whose minute and accurate phonetic descriptions have made W. S. Allen to remark : "These early phoneticians speak in fact to the twentieth century----" [21]. This great achievement of the phoneticians of ancient India, had its beginning in the phonetic observations of the Ṛṣis in the older Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas, an example of which is presented by TS IV. 6.7.3 and the parallel passages discussed above. As is to be expected these phonetic observations were presented in mythological terms by the seers.

It is evident in the light of the above discussion that the interpretation of Sāyaṇa of TS IV. 6.7. 3 is wholly untenable and on its basis God Indra cannot be held as the first grammarian. Hence the originator of the Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammar may better be sought in the Indradatta, who according to *Bṛhatkathā mañjarī* was a classfellow of Kātyāyana.[22]

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21. W. S. Allen, *Phonetics in Ancient India*, Oxford University press, London, 1961, p.7.

22. Quoted by Burnell, *op. cit*, p. 3 note 2.

[illegible] as a medium of speech, e.g. [illegible] of [illegible] *[illegible]* X. 27. 12 O Gods, what [illegible] may have done to make the gods [illegible] by [illegible] speech, thought or action. This interest in the [illegible] phenomenon of sound, which had [illegible] with [illegible] later culminated [illegible] their [illegible] speech [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] in speech [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] W. S. Allen [illegible] [illegible] as a [illegible] to the [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] of [illegible] for the [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] in the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of which [illegible] by [illegible] and the [illegible] [illegible] to be [illegible] phonetic observations were presented in [illegible].

It is evident in the light of the above details that the [illegible] of [illegible] of [illegible] the [illegible] India cannot be [illegible] as the [illegible]. Hence the [illegible] of the Hindu School of [illegible] on the Indian [illegible] though the [illegible]

[illegible] W. S. Allen, Phonetics in Ancient India, [illegible] University Press, London 1953, [illegible]

[illegible] Quoted by [illegible]

ICONOGRAPHY OF GANAPATI IN THE PURANAS*

U. N. DHAL

Bhubaneswar

Gaṇapati in the *Ṛgveda* does not occupy an independent position of a deity but is simply an epithet used for Bṛhaspati or Brahmaṇaspati (*RV.* 2.33.7). He emerged as an independent deity later in the Epics and the Purāṇas.

The author in this paper tries to examine the iconographical descriptions and the tradition of the image-making of Gaṇapati.

Introduction

In the past the study of religion consisted mainly of the literary sources like the Vedic and Epic-Purāṇic literature. Due to the change of the horizon of knowledge the scope of such study has become wider, as a result it has included into its domain the result of the study of History, Art, Archaeology, Sculpture, Sociology, Anthropology, Linguistics, Epigraphy, Numismatics, Iconography etc. Among the various fields of study relevant to religion, Iconography[1] plays no less vital role. The result of Epigraphy and Numismatics

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1. For the scope of Iconography refer to J. N. Banerjee, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd Edn Calcutta, 1956.

provide important data for the study of Iconography. Inscriptions inform us about the characteristics of religious cults, the erection of shrines and the making of images of divinities to be enshrined therein.

The tradition of making images is very old. Pāṇini (600 B. C.) in one of his Sūtras (v, 3,99) of his monumental work *Aṣṭādhyāyī*[2], speaks of *pratikṛti* (icon) and points out that the images of gods were used as a means of subsistence by a low-order of Brahmins by exhibiting them but not by selling *jīvikārthe cāpaṇye*. Thus the text makes it clear that people had great veneration for images and used to reward the exhibitors or bearers of the same generously. Patañjali, who flourished in the 2nd century B. C. wrote a great commentary on Pāṇini known as *Mahābhāṣya*.[3] The long gap of time between Pāṇini and Patañjali must have witnessed great changes in the society which have been nicely reflected in his work. He informs us that the Mauryas had *arcā* (image) of gods made for obtaining gold *Mauryair hiraṇyārthibhiḥ arcā prakalpitāḥ*. The *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*.[4] (2, 14, 17) of Circa 4th century B. C. prescribes the construction of shrines for deities like Aparājitā, Apratihata, Jayanta, Vaijayanta as well as of Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, Aśvins, Śrī and Madirā in the centre of the City and Brahman, Indra, Yama and Senāpati at the city-gate.

Pāṇini records the tradition of making images as a source of livelihood through exhibition, whereas Patañjali confirms the same and states that they were made during that age for sale to earn one's living. And Kauṭilya speaks

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2. *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, Ed. S. C. vasu, New Delhi, 1962.
3. *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, Ed. Vedavrata, Rohatak, 1963.
4. *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* Part 1, Ed. R. P. Kangale, Bombay, 1972.

of construction of shrines for Śiva, Śrī, Vaiśravaṇa etc. at various places of the city. Thus it is clear that the tradition of image-making continued unabated from the age of Pāṇini if not earlier. The knowledge of construction of images of Vedic gods like Indra, Prajāpati, Viṣṇu etc. along with the Epic-Purāṇic deities such as Brahmā, Vaiśravaṇa, Madirā, Durgā, Kālī, Skanda, Gaṇapati etc., was quite popular in the past.

Gaṇapati in the earlier texts.

The origin of Gaṇapati is shrouded in mystery. He is never figured as a deity in the Vedic literature. There is a well-known deity in the Vedas namely Bṛhaspati (or Brahmaṇaspati) 'lord of prayer', who is addressed as Gaṇapati 'the leader of the Gaṇas' in the famous mantra of *Ṛgveda* (2, 23, 1). He bears a hatchet of gold and has an axe (*paraśu*) made of iron. In Epic-Purāṇic age when Gaṇapati emerged as an independent deity, the later writers wanted to recognise him as a Vedic deity and confused him with Bṛhaspati, the god of wisdom, who was addressed as Gaṇapati and carried an axe, which became most common *āyudha* of Gaṇeśa.

The *Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā*[6] (16, 25) attributes the epithet Gaṇapati to Rudra-Śiva. In a mystic prayer to a deity named *Dantin* in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*[7] (10, 1, 5). the iconographical features of later Gaṇeśa is referred to. *Dantin* is called *Vakratuṇḍa* curved trunk, '*dantin*' the tusker. Moreover the mantra comes in succession with others addressed to Kārttikeya and Nandī with whom Gaṇeśa is assorted

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5. *Ṛgveda*, Ed. Max-Müller, London 1849
6. *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*, Ed. Satvalekar, Paradi, 1957
7. *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, Ed. V. G. Apte, ASS, 36, Poona, 1927

with in his days of prosperity. In view of this, scholars try to identify *Dantin* with Gaṇapati, but all the iconographical features of Gaṇapati are not found with *Dantin*. On the other hand in the later sectarian work namely *Gaṇeśātharvaśiras Upaniṣad* (mantra 9) we find sufficient clue to his physical features. In this *Dhyānamantra* he is *ekadanta* one-tusked, and has four hands. In one hand he carries Pāśa 'noose' and in the other *aṅkuśa* an elephant's goad, the other two hands carry a tusk and *Varada mudrā* 'boon conferring pose' respectively. He is pot-bellied and carries winnow-like ears. Red in complexion he is draped in red clothes and besmeared with red sandal paste, he is worshipped with red flowers. The rat is represented as his carrier.

Sculptural note in the Purāṇas.

Purāṇas are encyclopaedic in nature. Besides elaborating the Vedic ideas and ideals, they try to furnish data for the study of religious, political, social, geographical, ethnical conditions of the society during different periods through various myths and legends. As the Purāṇas served as the Veda of the laity, the popular customs, faith and belief are nicely illustrated in it. As like others the iconographical description of Gaṇapati is found in the Purāṇas especially in the context of his birth. The *Varāha Purāṇa*[9] (ch.23) states : when the gods appealed Śiva to create a being, who would remove obstacles from their path and create them for the demons, Śiva combined the elements like earth, air, fire and water and infused them with his own divine energy. Thus a brilliant creature appeared, who had a blazing face and was called Gaṇeśa. Due to his exquisite

8. *Śrīgaṇeśātharvaśīrṣam*, Ed. V. Sastri, ASS 1, Poona, 1977.
9. *Varāha Purāṇa*, Venkateswar Press, Bombay, 1903

beauty, radiant form, he captivated the mind of all. When Śiva found Umā enchanted towards the youth, he was overcome by sharp anger and cursed Gaṇeśa to have an elephant's head, a pot-belly and snake as his sacred thread. The Purāṇic account makes it clear that originally Gaṇeśa was a charming youth, but due to Śiva's curse he had to metamorphose into a deformed form.

The Nāgarakhaṇḍa of *Skanda Purāṇa* [10] (6,214, 4ff) speaks of the physical features of Gaṇeśa in another context thus. Once out of the dirt of her body Pārvatī made a human form with the head of an elephant for sport *Krīḍārtham mānuṣair aṅgair mātaṅgānanaśobhitaḥ*/114. Out of his four hands in one hand he held a hatchet *(Kuṭhāra)* and in the other sweets and was provided with a rat as his Vāhana.[11]

Like the Mahāpurāṇas, *Bṛhaddharma* Purāṇa[12] (1,60, 22ff), an upa-purāṇa, tries to describe the birth of Gaṇeśa by unnatural means. Gaṇeśa was charming at birth but due to his misfortune (riṣṭa) when he lost his head and was later joined with the elephant's head, he developed dwarfish and flabby body *(Kharvasthūlatanu)* and red complexion resembling *Jawāpuṣpa*. He is said to have four hands. When he was coronated by gods he appeared resplendent. Sarasvatī presented him a stylus (lekhanī), Brahmā a garland af beads *(Japamālā)*, Indra the tusk of an elephant, Padmävatī a lotus, Śiva a tiger skin, Bṛhaspati a sacred thread and the earth the rat as his carrier. With all these emble-

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10. *Skanda Purāṇa*,,Venkateswar Press, Bombay, 1910
11. For similar type of description refer to *Skanda Purāṇa* 3, 2, 12, 10ff.
12. *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇam*, Ed. Pt. H. P. Shastri, Calcutta 1895

ms and attributes he was crowned as the chief of the gods and was endowed with the privilege of enjoying adoration at the outset of any undertaking.

Iconography of Gaṇapati in the Purāṇas.

Besides the iconographical descriptions, we come across certain treatises, which deal with the iconography of the deities in a casual manner. Among the earlier works mention may be made of the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*,[13] which devotes one chapter (ch. 58) on *Pratimālakṣaṇa* dealing with the images in general and some gods in particular. Out of the instruction for the construction of image of gods the text includes the iconographical features of Gaṇapati. Though the couplet (ch. 58,58) is not found in most of the manuscripts and is regarded as an interpolation still it appears to have faithfully recorded the earliest variety of the deity. The lord of the pramathas *(Gaṇas)* should be elephant-faced, pot-bellied, holding a hatchet *(Kuṭhāradhārī)* and a radish *(mūlakanda)* and should have one tooth. Thus the injunction clearly illustrates a two-handed image of the deity. A stanza of *Amarakośa*[14] (1,1,39) contains some reference to his iconographical features like one-toothed *(ekadanta)* pot-belly *(lambodara)* and elephant-head *(gajānana)*.

T. A. G. Rao in his voluminous work on *Pratimālakṣaṇa* has collected enough of materials from different sources about the construction of images of various gods. All the texts on Gaṇapati invariably speak of his four-handed

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13. *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, Ed. Achyutananda Jha, Varanasi, 1959
14. *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsanam* of Amarasiṃha, Ed. N. G. Sardesai, Poona, 1969
15. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, T. A. G Rao, Vol. 1, part 1, 2nd Edn., Delhi, 1968.

image but the emblems and attributes vary from one text to the other. They include one tooth, wood apple, sweet-meat, elephant-goad, noose, snake, rosary, lotus etc. and the rat is very often described as his mount.

Like the specific texts on Iconography some of the Purāṇas also contain certain chapters on the subject. Among them mention may be made of the *Viṣṇudharmottara,* [16] the *Matsya*[17] and *Agni*[18]. Out of these the *Agni purāṇa* deals with the icon of the deity side by side with measurement of the shape and size of different limbs i. e. Iconometrics, but the other two Purāṇas contain some couplets dealing with the instructions for the deity in general.

The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (3, 13, 13ff) lays down: the image of Vināyaka should be made of four hands and, should have the trunk of an elephant. Out of the four hands the trident *(śūlaka)* and the rosary *(akṣamālā)* should be placed in the right hand and in the left hands a vessel full of sweets *(modaka pātra)* and the hatchet *(paraśu)* respectively. No tusk should be constructed on the left side of the trunk. The image should be in a sitting posture, one of the feet should be on the foot stool placed before him. The vessel full of sweets held in one of his left hand should be kept near the tip of the trunk. He should be draped with a tiger skin, the snake should serve as his sacred thread. As usual he should have a pot-belly and stiff ears. The tradition of a four-handed image of Vināyaka is made clear but the text does not speak of his carrier or his consort.

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16. *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, Part 3, Venkateswar Press, Bombay, 1913
17. *Matsya Purāṇa*, Ed. J. Vidyasagara, Calcutta, 1876
18. *Agni Purāṇa*, Ed. B. Upadhyaya, Varanasi, 1966

The *Matsya purāṇa* (259, 52ff) appears to have recorded a different tradition : Vināyaka should have the trunk of an elephant, three eyes, pot-belly, ears like those of an elephant wearing the sacred thread of a snake and one tusk. With extensive shoulders, huge arms, feet and large mouth he should be made of four hands. The emblems carried by him in his four hands differ a little from the *Viṣṇudharmottara.* In his two right hands he should have a tusk of his own *(svadanta)* and a lotus respectively, but in the two left hands he should have a ball of sweets and the trident. Surrounded by *ṛddhi* 'success, prosperity' and *buddhi* 'intelligence', his two śaktis, he should have rat as his mount under him. The addition of *ṛddhi, buddhi,* rat and the attributes in the two right hands to the earlier image shows its difference in tradition, but the similarity of two attributes held in two left hands shows its acquaintance also with the earlier one. And the vivid instruction for the image points to its development in course of time.

The author of the *Agni purāṇa* appears to be more practical in his approach to the problem than the fore-going ones. As to the iconographical features, he has accepted all the emblems and attributes stated by the *Matsya purāṇa* with slight mutation in their position. According to *Agni purāṇa* (50, 23ff) Vināyaka should be represented as having human form with four hands. emblems like one tusk, hatchet, a ball of sweets and a lotus should be represented in his two right hands and left hands respectively, but there is neither the mention of his Śaktis nor his carrier. Besides this the Purāṇakāra tries to state the rules of proportion in the making of the image : The face of the image should measure seven Kalās in breadth, the trunk should measure thirty six Aṅgulas in length; the neck should have the length of a Kalā and half with a girth of about twelve kaḷās

and the region of the throat should have thirty six Aṅgulas long The region of anus should have the breadth of a half Aṅgula. The space about the region of the umbilicus should measure twelve Aṅgulas. Similarly the feet, the space between the calves and knee-joints should respectively be proportionate with the naval region. Thus the measurement of the image from the head to the feet is prescribed.

Emblems and Attributes, their bearing on the character

The tradition of making image of gods in human form is more or less common throughout the world. But there are certain peculiarities in it. These peculiarities consist of human body with animal head, multiple heads and hands, various emblems and attributes, the colour, the carrier, unusual height or too much dwarfish etc.

In the Purāṇas Gaṇapati has elephant's head, pot-belly, is dwarfish in form and holds trident, hatchet, rosary, lotus and a pot of sweets in his four hands and is seated on the rat, his mount. Like other deities the emblems and attributes of Gaṇapati denote his nature.

In the past the ingredients like stone, wood, gold, silver, copper etc. were generally used for the construction of images. Probably the Purāṇakāras dealing with image construction were well acquainted with the images made of stone, which needed no painting. So we do not come across the idea of colour of the deity in the Purāṇic texts on Iconography. On the other hand in the iconographical description of the Purāṇas in the *Stava* and *Stotras* as well as in the *Dhyānamantras* the conception of the colour of the deity is clearly stated. In the above sources we come across the complexion of the deity. He is said to be red

like vermilion (*sindūra śobhākara*) or like *Javākusuma*. The *Śukranītisāra* speaks of the colour of Gaṇapati along with the Sun and śaktis to be of copper-colour (*tāmra varṇa*). The colour of the deity is partly descriptive and partly suggestive. The complexion of Mahādevī in her terrible form who is placed on lord Śiva, is said to be the colour of *Bandhūka* flower (*Bandhūkakusumābhāsam*), she should be garlanded with skull-garland; three eyed Devī should wear red clothes etc. Mahālakṣmī, the destroyer of Mahiṣāsura is of the colour of *pravāla* (red). The red colour represents anger and symbolises danger and destruction. Since the deity is well known as Vighneśvara 'Lord of obstacles' and creates all sorts of impendiments and dangers, he is malignant in nature.

Gaṇapati is dwarf in stature, flabby body with a big belly (*Kharvasthūlatanu*). In his short form, pot-belly and such other general characters he is accepted as a Yakṣa type and at times effectively equivalent to Kubera, the king of Yakṣas or Maṇibhadra a Yakṣa. The Yakṣa is an earth genii usually beneficent power of wealth and fertility. As the god of prosperity and plenty, he is made of such form.

Though the gods were conceived as anthropomorphic in form, they use to carry certain peculiarities from human beings like multiple heads and hands etc. This feature is common to one and all. Viṣṇu is sculptured with four hands, Durgā is made of four, eight, ten, eighteen hands also. The Purāṇic texts on the image agree as to the number of hands of Gaṇapati. It is usual with the sculptor to differentiate the image of a deity from commoner by adding something extra like multiple hands, the emblems

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19. *Yakṣas*, A. K. Coomaraswamy, Part 1, New Delhi, 1871, P. 7.

and attributes. The hands symbolise the power and strength; multiple hands portray the unlimited power or divine power of the deity and the emblems belonging to the deity denote his nature. Gaṇeśa carries hatchet and trident in his hands. Mahālakṣmī is conceived of eighteen hands, the emblems carried in her hands include hatchet, trident, rosary, mace, bows and arrows, scimitar etc. Paraśurāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, is represented with hatchet by the help of which he extirpated the Kṣatriyas twentyone times from the surface of the earth. The emblems like hatchet and trident illustrate the martial or destructive character.

Gaṇapati bears the head of an elephant and is shown sitting on his mount rat. The elephant and the rat[20] associated with the deity, show the theriomorphic representation of his nature. These two animals have speciality in their behaviour. The rat has the peculiar talent of entering buildings, homes, granaries and can overcome any defense put in its path and possesses unusual skill to tide over all sorts of obstacles. It is also well known as a finder or maker of the way. The elephant with gigantic body is an irresistible force and can progress through heavy odds in the battlefield as well as through invincible areas. Gaṇeśa combines in him the feature of the elephant and the rat. Like the elephant he is an indomitable force and progresses ahead through all sorts of obstacles and like a rat he enters into carefully protected areas. So he is popular as the remover of hurdles and bestower of successes. To sum up:

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20. For an analytical discussion on the rat and the elephant refer to H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia.* Vol I. 3rd. edn., New York, 1968, p. 46ff.

1. Gaṇapati came to eminence as a deity in the Epic-Purāṇic age and carried some of the emblems of Bṛhaspati (Brahmaṇaspati) of the Vedic age.

2. In the Purāṇas various myths regarding his birth appeared. Along with it we find the iconographical description of his form.

3. Besides the iconographical descriptions, Purāṇas like *Viṣṇudharmottara*, *Matsya* and *Agni* contain the instructions for making his images. As to its minute details, it differs from each other.

4. The emblems and attributes of Gaṇapati nicely illustrate his character as *Vighnarāja*, *Vighneśa* and *Vighnavināśaka* and he is invoked at the outset of every sort of enterprise to ensure safe progress and prosperity in every walk of life.

KUNDAKOLIYA IN DEFENCE OF THE NIRGRANTHA-DOCTRINE

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The paper very interestingly throws light on the ancient rivalry between the Ājīvikas and the Nirgranthas by recalling a story mentioned in the Nirgrantha-literature. An ordinary house-holder named Kuṇḍakoliya establishes the superiority of the Nirgrantha cult over the Ājīvikas. Lord Mahāvīra speaks highly of Kuṇḍakoliya before his disciples who were certainly better equipped with the knowledge of the Śāstras, and encourages them for the propagation of his religious principles. As a result, due to their joint effort, the Nirgranthas defeat the Ājīvikas and make them disappear from the world.

In ancient time there used to happen very frequently conflict between different religious sects in this country. The adherents of each religious system used to proclaim the supremacy of their respective religion and denounced the doctrines and tenets of others. These conflicts often took violent forms and resulted in the exchange of abuses and personal villifications.[1] Not only the followers of the doc-

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1. We particularly refer to the confiict between the Śāktas and Vaiṣṇavas in Bengal. The confiict between the Buddhists and the Hindus may also be mentioned. Even in the recent times the Brāhmas and the Hindus of Bengal were involved in dissension.

trines but their propagators too often indulged in such activities.[2] They developed such strifes and vitiated the atmosphere of the country. The religious history of the country bears clear evidence of this unholy trend of event and it has often been reflected in literature.

The Ājīvikas and the Nirgranthas too, as we come to know from the literature of the latter, were involved in such rivalry and conflict. The former and the latter competed with one another in propagating the glory of their creed and claimed the superiority of their respective religious system. There was competition even in the matter of augmenting the number of the co-religionists. Not only the disciples, the adherents of a religious order, but its teachers too occasionally became involved in such activities, which generated very ill-will and animosity. As a result of this controversy and religious conflict people–the adherents of a religious system at times left their own order and joined the opposite camp.[3] There was attempt however on the part of the teacher to get back the deserters.[4] In this way the Ājīvikas and Nirgranthas were involved in a crude act of sectarian rivalry and they fought one another to secure the upper hand in the competition.

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2. In the present story i.e. of Kuṇḍakoliya Mahāvīra takes an active part and in the story of Saddālaputta Maṅkhaliputta gosāla remains busy to save his disciples ; as such he plays a vital role there.

3. Saddālaputta left the camp of the Ājīvikas and joined the party of the Nirgranthas.

4. Maṅkhaliputta tried his best to get back Saddālaputta, who left the sect of the Ājīvikas and joined the Nirgranthas.

The sixth chapter of the *uvāsagadasāo* provides us with a very nice sketch of the conflict between the Ājīvikas and the Nirgranthas. It shows how a devoted adherent of the Nirgrantha—faith defeats by arguments a demi-god, who holds brief for the Ājīvika-cult. It shows further how Mahāvīra approves the activity of his disciple and inspires other devoted followers to meet the arguments of the hostile religious orders and establish the soundness and perfection of their own system. A spirit of rivalry, enthusiasm and fervour have made the composition brisk and pulsating with emotion. Interest has been maintained in this story with uncommon skill and ingenuity.

Let us follow the story and see to what extent the above statements have been justified by the course of events narrated there. There lived in Kampillapura a householder Kuṇḍakoliya by name. He was a disciple of the monk and was a devoted follower of the Nirgrantha-faith. One day he placed his signet-ring and upper garment upon a slab of stone in the Aśoka forest adjacent to his house and attended the religious service of the lord Mahāvīra.

Suddenly there appeared a demi-god before Kuṇḍakoliya. He took the signet ring and the upper-garment of the latter from the slab of stone, where they were placed. He spoke very highly of the doctrines of Maṅkhaliputta and denounced those of Mahāvīra. He stated that the religious teachings of Maṅkhaliputta gosāla were extremely charming. There did not occur any enterprise, any activity, any strength, any valour, any manliness and any kind of heroic feat. All the material objects stood in a fixed condition. But the preachings of Mahāvīra were worse since they proclaimed the positive existence of the enterprise and

valour and the unstableness of the material objects of the world.[5]

Kuṇḍakoliya heard his statements and realised the full significance of his words, which stated that the teachings of Maṅkhaliputta were attractive as they denied the occurrence of the enterprise and asserted the stability of the material objects of the world but contrarily the doctrines of Mahāvīra were worse since they admitted the occurrence of the enthusiasm and energy and denied the stability of the material objects of the world. Kuṇḍakoliya enquired to the god as to how he could secure such a divine glory. He wanted to know whether he got it by the application of enthusiasm and enterprise or by inactivity and avoidance of exertion.[6] The god replied that all his divine glory was due to the absolute abjuration of energy and the adoption of inaction.[7]

Then Kuṇḍakoliya wanted to know from the god why the creatures, which were given to inaction and the suspen-

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5. Please see the paragraph 166 of the *Uvāsagadasāo*. One should note the words : *haṃ bho kuṇḍakoliyā samaṇovāsayā sundarī ṇaṃ devāṇuppiyā, gosālassa maṅkhaliputtassa dhammapannattī natthi uṭṭhāṇe i vā kamme i vā vale i vā vīrie i vā purisakāraparakkame ivā niyayā savva bhāvā, maṃgulī naṃ samaṇass bhagavao mahāvīrassa dhammapannattī atthi uṭṭhāṇe i vā........ jāva......parakkame i vā aṇiyayā savvabhāvā.*

6. *tume ṇaṃ devā imā eyārūvā divvā deviḍḍī divvā devajjuī divve devāṇubhāve kiṇṇā laddhe kiṇṇā patte kiṇṇā abhisamannāgae, kiṃ uṭṭhāṇeṇa...jāva...purisakāra-parakkameṇaṃ udāhu anuṭṭhāṇeṇaṃ akammeṇa...jāva...apurisakkāra-parakkameṇaṃ*' para 167.

7. *evaṃ khalu devāṇuppiyā mae imeyārūvā divvā deviḍḍhī aṇuṭṭhāṇeṇaṃ...jāva...apurisakkāra-parakkameṇaṃ laddhā pattā samannāgayā*, para 168.

sion of movement, did not possess the divine glory like that of him and were not raised to the status of a god. The god did not give any reply to it but kept silent. Evidently the god obtained the divine glory by the application of energy and enterprise and not by having resort to inaction and suspension of movement. Then Kuṇḍakoliya placed before the god that the acceptance of the statement categorically denied his proposition that Maṅkhaliputta's teachings were attractive as they proclaimed inactivity and Mahāvīra's doctrines were worse since they propagated the occurrence of the enterprise. These statements of Kuṇḍakoliya confused the god, who could not argue further. He returned the signet-ring and the upper-garment to their owner and forthwith disappeared.

Mahāvīra praised highly Kuṇḍakoliya for his very successful performance in defending the tenets of the Nirgrantha-faith and defeating the god who held brief for the Ājīvika-cult. He then addressed the monks and the nuns —the staunch followers of the Nirgrantha-doctrine and convinced them of the fact that if an ignorant house-holder like Kuṇḍakoliya, could refute the arguments of the holder of a different creed then they (the monks and the nuns), equipped with the better knowledge of the scriptures were far more competent to set aside the religious principles of the hostile religious orders.[8] The disciples of Mahāvīra realised the significance of his (Mahāvīra's) words and highly appreciated them. Kuṇḍakoliya thus defended the superiority of the Nirgrantha-cult.

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8. *jai tāva ajjo gihiṇo gihamajjhā vasaṃtā ṇaṃ annā-utthie aṭṭhehi heūhi ya pasiṇehi ya kāraṇehi vāgaraṇehi ya nippaṭṭhapasiṇa-vāgaraṇe kareṃti, sakkā puṇāiṃ, ajjo, samaṇehiṃ niggaṃthehim duvālasaṃgaṃ gaṇipiḍagaṃ ahijjamāṇehiṃ anna-utthiyā aṭṭhehi ya jāva nipaṭṭha-pasiṇā karittae.* para 179.

The above story clearly indicates the rivalry and conflict that occurred between the Ājīvikas and the Nirgranthas for religious supremacy. As stated before, teachers themselves too took active part in the affair along with the followers. The adherents of one faith used to find fault with the doctrines of the other and belauded the soundness and perfection of their own system. This spirit of rivalry was extremely severe between these two religious sects in the country. In the present story Kuṇḍakoliya successfully defeats in argument the upholder of the Ājīvika-tenets[9] and establishes the superiority of the Nirgrantha-cult. Mahāvīra encourages the enterprise of Kuṇḍakoliya and inspires the disciples to take the task of propagation of the religion among the people. They are specially suited for the purpose since they are equipped with the knowledge of the Śāstras and can reply to the queries of the people convincing them of the insufficiency and irrationality of other's system, particularly that of the Ājīvikas. They should baptize the people and bring them within the benign shelter of the Nirgrantha-cult. The augmentation of the number of the followers is a bounden duty of a monk as the question of survival remains involved with the task.

It may be incidentally mentioned that the Ājīvika-teachers as a result of rivalry and competition with the Nirgranthas lost many of their followers who left the creed and joined the camp of the Nirgrantha-cult. This weakened the Ājīvika-sect considerably. Perhaps this is one of the reasons for which the Ājīvikas became extinct later. The Ājīvikas were at one time very popular in the country. For several centuries they enjoyed popularity and received

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9. The god who appeared before Kuṇḍakoliya and praised Maṅkhaliputta gosāla is refe.red to here.

support from the people. Even the emperor Aśoka extended patronage to them.[10] But for several reasons and most probably for their unholy competition with the gains they became very unpopular in course of time and this ultimately brought about their absolute disappearance from the world. The jains survived with their creed, which exists even to-day, but the Ājīvikas could not. They became soon legends and they are to be known to-day from the account in the ancient texts–particularly those which come from the Nirgrantha-sect. The retreat of Maṅkhaliputta Gosāla from the house of Saddālaputta[11] was just an indication for the rejection of the Ājīvika-cult by the people of this country in the subsequent time.

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10. Vide the seventh pillar edict of Aśoka. The emperor Aśoka employed the Dharma-mahāmātras for the distribution of happiness and comfort to all the people belonging to the different religious sects of the country. Here the Ājīvikas have been specially mentioned. One should note : *dhamma-mahāmāta pi me te bahuvidhesu aṭhesu ānugahikesu viyāpaṭā, te pavajitam ceva gihithāṇaṃ ca savapāsaṃḍesu pi ca viyāpaṭā se saṃghaṭesi pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti ; hemeva bābhaṇesu ājīvikesu pi me kaṭe.*

11. In the seventh story i.e. the story of Saddālaputta one finds that Saddālaputta, a follower of the Ājīvika-cult, comes to the side of the Nirgranthas leaving his own sect. He leaves his former preceptor Maṅkhaliputta gosāla. The latter tries his best to bring him back to his own sect, but does not succeed. Insulted he leaves Saddālaputta for ever. This retreat of Maṅkhaliputta is painful. This is just an indication of the final extinction of the Ājīvikas from the face of the world.

SIGNIFICANCE OF VIṢṬI IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

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In connection with the study of the ancient *Indian socio-economic order*, the author comes across many references to *Viṣṭi* in the *Mahābhārata* which throw light on the practice and tradition of forced labour with or without remuneration. In this context, the commentary of Nīlakaṇṭha on *Mahābhārata* is worth noticing which points to the right of the king to exact *viṣṭi* from big cultivators and traders like a cuckoo. The words *kīnāśa* and *nivartana* in his commentary are very significant. The Cuckoo-crow analogy reveals the natural emergence of feudal parasites or exploiters at that time who flourished on the unpaid labour of their tenants big or small.

The *Mahābhārata* is a rich compendium of Indian culture. The economic data contained in it has yet to be explored in its entirety. Not much of significance has been done in this direction after the publication of Moti Chandra's work dealing with the geographical and economic data of the *Upāyanaparvan*[1] which originally appeared as a paper in *JUPHS*[2] and later on in the form of an independent

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1. Moti Chandra, *Geographical and Economic Data in the Mahābhārata: Upāyana-parva*, (*Lucknow*. 1945), pp. 142.
2. *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Vol. XVI.

monograph. V. S. Agarwala[3] also enriched this aspect by contributing a learned paper on the coin data in the *Mahābhārata*. Recently another notable attempt has been made by A. K. Majumdar to study some aspects of epic economy.[4] In this article, we propose to examine only an aspect of the economic life of India which concerns the problem of labour or more specifically, forced labour as gleaned from the *Mahābhārata*, for which *viṣṭi* was one of the most commonly used terms. When the epic refers to *viṣṭi* it becomes very significant because it happens to be the embodiment of the collective cultural consciousness of the country. A few chosen references to *viṣṭi* from inscriptions or a text of a particular age and region presented in a statistical way do not help us in arriving at the nature, incidence and range of *viṣṭi* in the Indian society. A study of *viṣṭi* in a literary text like the *Mahābhārata* is of immense significance because 'literature has always been the most precise reflection of the society which produced it.[5] When the epic refers to *viṣṭi*, it reflects the nature, range, incidence and dimension of *viṣṭi* practiced throughout the length and breadth of the country. What is remarkable about the references is the fact that *viṣṭi* and coercion involved therein was on the mind and consciousness of the authors of the epic.

The epic contains six references to *viṣṭi*, one occurring

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3. "Coin Data in the Mahābhārata", *ABORI*; Vol. XXX, pp. 161-174.

4. A. K. Majumdar, *Economic Background of the Epic Society*, (Calcutta), 1977.

5. Howard Fast, *Literature And Reality*, (Bombay, 1953), p. 1

in the *Āraṇyakaparvan*[6], four in the *Śāntiparvan*[7], and the remaining sixth in the *Āśramavāsikaparvan.*[8] Two of these references impliedly suggest *viṣṭi* as gleaned from the commentary of *Nīlakaṇṭha*. In still another verse, the reference to *viṣṭi* is clear but the reading therein has been treated as doubtful by the learned editor of the critical text who preferred the reading '*vṛṣṭi*' to '*viṣṭi*'.[9] We shall see below how the emended text substituting *vṛṣṭi* for *viṣṭi* is not convincing. The verse in question occurs in the Bombay edition of the *Mahābhārata* and was commented upon by the medieval commentator *Nīlakaṇṭha*. It reads as follows :

> *Nirviśeṣā janapadāstathā viṣṭikarārditāḥ*
> *Āśramānupalapsyanti phalamūlopajīvinaḥ.*

The verse describes torturous conditions of the Kali age. Explaining the verse, the commentator observed that in the *kali* age, the distinguishing marks of people e.g. habits of food, dress and conduct would disappear and they would look similar. Being coerced to work by men who were habitual of getting works done without paying the wages, people would take shelter in the hermitages. Nīlakaṇṭha takes '*viṣṭikarāḥ*' in the aforesaid passage to stand for 'those who get works done without paying the wages'.[10]

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6. *Mbh.* (Critical ed.), XII. 59. 40-41; XII. 77. 5; XXI. 121. 43; XII. 138-21.
7. *Mbh.* (Gorakhpur) XV. 5. 41.
8. *Ibid.* (Critical ed.), XII. 138. 21; Nīlakaṇṭha on XII. 140. 21 (Bombay ed., 1888).
9. *Mbh.* (Critical ed.), III. 188. 71.
10. *Ibid.* (Bombay ed. 1888), Nīlakaṇṭha on III. 190. 73, ***Bhṛtimadatvā Kāryam Kārayanti te.***

The text commented upon by Nīlakaṇṭha has been treated as doubtful by Sukthankar, the learned editor of the text of the *Āraṇyakaparvan*. He has adopted the following reading :

Nirviśeṣā janapadā narāvṛṣṭibhirārditāḥ
Āśramānabhipatsyanti phalamūlopajīvinaḥ.

The meaning of the constituted critical text would now be that 'all distinguishing marks of the people would vanish and they would take resort to the hermitages being troubled by rainfall'.

The reading *vṛṣṭi* is not borne out by the evidence of the MSS. also. Out of the total number of twenty-two MSS. utilized for the adopted text, thirteen MSS. support the reading *viṣṭi* which appears to be more convincing and appropriate in the light of the context in which it is used in the epic. The epic repeatedly refers to the natural calamities like drought spells of long duration,[11] untimely rainfall adding to the troubles, and famines owing to the poor food crops[12] and near famine conditions.[13] One MS. reads '*vṛddhi*' and the remaining eight MSS. read variously as '*vṛṣṭikara*' or *anāvṛṣṭibhirārditāḥ*. Since large spells of drought are said to characterise the *kali* age, the sufferings of the people on account of rains seem to be incongruous. We

11. *Mbh.* Poona, 1971), III. 186. 56-57
Anāvṛṣṭirmahārāja jāyate bahuvārṣikī
tatastānyalpasārāṇi satvāni kṣudhitāni ca.

12. ***Mbh.*** **III. 188. 69. III. 188.76.**
Akālavarṣī ca tadā bhaviṣyati sahasradṛk
Sasyāni ca na rokṣyanti yugānte paryupasthite.

13. ***Ibid.*** **III. 188.51.**
Aṭṭaśūlā janapadāḥ śivaśūlāścatuṣpathāḥ.

have here followed the reading adopted by the Bombay edition in this particular reference. Fleeing away of the people for fear of rains does not fit well with the context of the Kali age. Here the term *viṣṭi* means labour without wages which amounts to free labour service. Because people were fleeing to other places, it would have also involved some coercion. The commentator suggests that there was probably a class of people expecting, demanding or exacting such labour. The passage does not hint at the possible use of such labour but the same may, however be inferred from other sources as we would see later.

The remaining four references to *viṣṭi* occur in the *Śāntiparvan* and read as below :

(*i*) *Rathā nāgā hayāścaiva pādātāścaiva pāṇḍava*
viṣṭirnāvaścarāścaiva deśikā iti cāṣṭamam.[14]

(*ii*) *Aśrotriyāḥ sarva eva serve cānāhitāgnayaḥ*
tānsarvāndhārmiko rājā balim viṣṭim ca kārayet.[15]

The variant in the Bombay edition is *tānsarvān etc.*

(*iii*) *Hastino'śvā rathāḥ pattirnāvo viṣṭistathava ca*
Daiśikāścārakāścaiva tadaṣṭāṅgam balam smṛtam.[16]

The variant in the Bombay edition is *deśikaścāvikāścaiva* etc.

(*iv*) *Kokilasya varāhasya meroḥ śūnyasya veśmanaḥ*
vyāḍasya bhaktícitrasya yachreyastatsamācaret.

14. *Mbh.* (Critical ed.), XII. 59. 40-13; (Bombay, 1888), XII. 59. 41.
15. *Ibid.*, XII. 77.7; XII. 76.5 (Bombay ed.).
16. *Ibid.* (Critical ed.), XII. 121. 43; *Ibid.* XII. 121. 44, (Bombay, 1888).

Its variant is *na tasya bhaktimitrasya* etc. Out of these four references, two relate *viṣṭi* to be an ingredient of either *daṇḍa* or *bala*.

There is another verse in the *Āśramavāsikaparvan* of the epic which is treated by Nīlakaṇṭha to have a veiled reference to *viṣṭi*. It reads as follows :

(v) *Govadrāsabhavaccaiva kuryeyuḥ vyavahāriṇaḥ*
Svararandhram pararandhram ca sveṣu caiva pareṣu ca.[18]

In the first verse, *viṣṭi* is stated to be one of the eight constituents of *daṇḍa*. Nīlakaṇṭha commenting on the aforesaid verse says that *viṣṭi* in army signified the 'corps of the porters engaged perforce without payment of wages'.[19] *Viṣṭi* in the next reference is again treated as an ingredient of the eightfold army.[20]

These two evidences amply bear out the fact that *viṣṭi* was used as a corps of labourers working in free or unpaid manner.

The practice and tradition of *viṣṭi* not only connoted forced labour[21] but also the labour subjected to *viṣṭi*.[22] Even Alberuni (C. 1030 A. D.) does not fail to notice that people

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17. *Ibid*. XII. 138. 21; *Ibid*. XII. 140. 21 (Bombay, 1888).
18. *Mbh*. XV. 5. 41, Nīlakaṇṭha on the verse quoted.
19. *Ibid*. (Bombay, 1888), Nīlakaṇṭha on XII. 59. 41. Comments that *viṣṭi* here signifies the porters recruited perforce: *viṣṭiviṣṭirgṛhītabhāravāhāḥ* etc. Cf. *Kṛtyakalpataru*, *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, p. 95. where *viṣṭi* is defined as a labourer recruited per force. *balātkāreṇa ākṛṣṭaḥ karmakaraḥ*.
20. *Ibid*. (Critical ed.), XII. 121. 43.
21. *Kṛtaykalpataru*. *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, p. 95.
22. *Vivādaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara*, p. 662,

of all castes except the Brāhmaṇas had not only to pay taxes but also to perform 'wazaif'[23], to the ruler, which has been taken as labour service in the nature of forced labour.[24]

This tradition seems to have lingered on even in the middle ages after 1200 A. D. Muslim historians refer to the use of slaves in the army. It was a general practice not confined to the Muslims alone. Even the Hindu nobility and chiefs began to employ slaves for military and domestic purposes.[25] What is important here is the use of slavery in the army even by the Hindus. Slavery in its broader shade of meaning also involves forced labour. In this case, what was known as *viṣṭi* to the Indian thinkers might have been misunderstood as slavery by the Muslim historians. The tradition of the use of forced labour in army was thus not missed even by the Muslim historians. It seems to have been a regular feature of the army organization and must have been employed at a large scale in emergent or warlike situations. Some sort of conscription or coercive method might have been used to recruiting the unpaid labour corps. In the epic it connoted labour recruited per force (*balātkā-reṇa*) for the service of the state without payment.[26] The

23. Alberuni's *India*, (ed.) Sachau (Leipzig, 1925), p. 318.

24. B.N.S. Yadava, "Problem of the Interaction Between Socio-Economic Classes in the Early Medieval Complex", *Indian Historical Review*, Vol. III. (July 1976), p. 53.

25. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* of Yaḥya ibn Ahmad Sirhindi, quoted by K.M. Ashraf in his article 'Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan (1200-1550 A.D.)" in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, Vol. I, 1935, p. 189.

26. Rājadharmakāṇḍa on XII.59.41 interprets *viṣṭi* as *balātkāreṇa ākṛṣṭaḥ karmakaraḥ* and Nīlakaṇṭha on 12.77.7 interprets it as service to the State without payment: *vetanam vinā rājasevā.*

Epic is silent about the manifold use of *viṣṭi* in army. We may have an idea of its multifarious use from the *Arthaśāstra*[27] where, it is stated to have been used for 'clearing camps, roads, water works, bridges, wells, repairing ghāṭas, carrying provisions and war equipment', etc. At one place it is suggested that *viṣṭi* is done by volunteer army[28] in lure of getting booty.

Viṣṭi in the *Arthaśāstra* has been variously understood both as forced labour and labour. D. D. Kosambi, R. S. Sharma, etc. take it largely as forced or drudge labour[29] whereas recently it was interpreted simply as labour and workman on the basis of close scrutiny of the *Arthaśāstra* passages and the translation thereof by R. P. Kangle.[30] Even if the term *viṣṭi* is understood simply as labour and workmen, the fact should not be lost sight of that the word labour includes both wage labour and forced labour.

In the third reference (i.e. XII.77.7) *viṣṭi* implies right of the king to exact service without paying any wages from the *aśrotriya Brāhmaṇas* and from those who do not perform *Agnihotra*. Here a significant departure is noticeable. A righteous king has been sanctioned by the author of the

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27. *Arthaśāstra*. 10.4.17

28. *Arthaśāstra*, 9. 2. 9.

29. D.D.Kosambi, *The Culture And Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline*. (London, 1965), p. 153; R. S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, (C. 300-1200 A. D.) (Calcutta, 1965), p. 50.

30. G. K. Rai, "Forced Labour in Ancient And Medieval India", *IHR*, Vol. III (July 1976), p. 23-24; *Arthaśāstra*, 2. 35. 1; 2. 15. 63; Kangle, *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, Pt. II, (Bombay, 1972), p. 127 and 182.

Epic to exact taxes (*bali*) and unpaid labour service (*viṣṭi*). Here Nīlakaṇṭha[31] treats *viṣṭi* as 'unpaid labour service got rendered unto a righteous king. When Alberuni says that the Brāhmaṇas were exempt from doing '*wajaif*' or service to the ruler, he simply highlighted their theoretical privileges as seen earlier. In practice, however, only a *śrotriya* and *agnihotrī Brāhmaṇa* and not all the common Brāhmaṇas enjoyed this privilege as suggested by Nīlakaṇṭha and *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*[32].

A learned author[33] holds *viṣṭi* in this verse as a kind of oppressive tax to be levied from those who were not well off, lived from hand to mouth and were not engaged in productive works. But this view does not seem to be correct as it goes against the internal evidence of the text where a distinction is made between tax (*bali*) and unpaid labour service (*viṣṭi*). Thus *viṣṭi* was not a kind of tax but unpaid oppressive service. It seems that the practice of *viṣṭi* had become more intensive because even the Brāhmaṇas excepting the *śrotriyas* and *agnihotris* were not exempted from it. Thus the ritualistic prerogatives of even the Brāhmaṇas were not held sacrosanct by a king in the times of economic distress. This definitely marks a charge in the mode of *viṣṭi* from the times of *Gautama Dharmasūtra* (c. 600–300 B. C.) where provision of feeding the labourers during

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31. *Mbh.* (Bombay, 1888), Nīlakaṇṭha on XII. 76. 5 says that *viṣṭi* here means service unto the king without salary or payment.

32. Cf. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, V. 10. 1. ff.

33. B. P. Roy, *Political Ideas And Institutions in the Mahābhārata*, (Calcutta, 1975), pp. 281-282.

34. *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, X. 34.

the period of *viṣṭi* service is conceded. The Epic does not spell out any fixed duration and nature of *viṣṭi* service. The question of feeding the workmen should not be deemed payment because providing food to them was necessary in order to keep them active and sturdy. An enfeebled workmen would be a liability rather than asset.

The next two references to *viṣṭi* are indirect and occur in a veiled language. Nīlakaṇṭha[35] in his commentary on these verses infers the practice of *viṣṭi*. Laying down a code of conduct for a king at the end of the Kali age when dharma declines, prosecution and distress of the people enhances and lawlessness increases, a king is advised to behave like a cuckoo and other animals. Commenting on the aforesaid verse, Nīlakaṇṭha says that a king should get his dependents sustained and supported by his subjects in the same manner as a cuckoo gets its eggs hatched out by a crow. Elaborating further he says that the following eight types of king's concerns, viz., agriculture, trade routes, forts, bridges, maintenance of the elephants, mines, collection of taxes and hoarding of reserves should be got done by employing *viṣṭi*. Obviously here the suggestion that when the state passes through a state of economic depression, and lawlessness increases to meanacting proportions, a king should take recourse to *viṣṭi* or unpaid labour service in order to protect and augment his resources. It was probably under these circumstances that even the degraded Brāhmaṇas were not exempted from *viṣṭi* as seen earlier.

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35. *Mbh.* (Bombay ed., 1888), Nīlakaṇṭha on XII. 140. 21
Mbh. (ed.) R. C. Shastri Kinzawadekar (Poona, 1963), XV. 5. 41, Nīlakaṇṭha's comments on the verse.

Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary in this matter is very revealing. It points to the right of the king to exact *viṣṭi* or labour service from big cultivators and traders, a point which has been missed by the historians so far. The very idea of the sustenance of the dependents of the king on the toil of the big cultivators in the manner of a cuckoo signifies a period when cultivators were required to till the fields of their landlords overlords. The privilege of the king to depend on the peasants for the cultivation of a piece of his land is a new phenomenon not encountered earlier. In the earlier stage during the second century A. D. the Sātavāhana king depended for his resources on his own allotments of land which were not ploughed by others but by the resources of the king himself.[36] This situation reminds us well of the Europeon feudalism where peasants were required to work for a few days in the fields of their lords. This situation reflects an aspect of the feudal phenomenon in Indian society which emerged around the middle of the first millenium A. D. When feudal conditions started emerging in Indian society around the declining years of the Gupta kings, the system of payment of wages to the labourer in cash or kind suffered a decline and the tendency to get works done by forced labour i.e. *viṣṭi* increased. The cuckoo-crow analogy in getting the eggs hatched very well reminds us of the emergence of feudal parasites or exploiters who thrived on the unpaid labour of their tenants big or small. Nīlakaṇṭha's observation needs investigation :

'*Kokilasya śreyaḥ svapoṣyāṇāmaparaiḥ poṣaṇam tathāhi kṛṣivaṇikpatho durgasetukuñjarabandhanam khanyākarakaradānasamay-*

36. U. N. Ghosal, *The Agrarian System of India*, (Calcutta, 1973), p. 45.

ārthāṣṭakam matam yaḥ kīnāśaḥ śatanivartanāni bhūmeḥ karṣati tena viṣṭirūpeṇa rājakīyamapi nivartanadaśakam karṣaṇīyasvakiyavad' etc.

This evidence was used by L. Gopal[37] to prove 'the obligation of the peasants to cultivate king's land in the form of *viṣṭi.* The local chiefs and traders were in a position to exploit rural resources fully and exact and use forced labour effectively'.

This brilliant suggestion of L. Gopal inspired me to investigate it afresh. In Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary it is a very striking fact to find 'a *kīnāśa* cultivating a hundred *nivartanas* of land'. Such a *kīnāśa* was required to cultivate and look after a piece of ten *nivartana* land of the king by way of *viṣṭi* or without receiving any payment. The yield or produce obtained therefrom should be given unto the king or deposited in his treasury. Similarly a trader carrying on his trade on the back of a hundred oxen was obliged to transport the goods of the king on the back of ten oxen. He should also rear king's elephants without wages. A king should collect toll tax (*velana*) from the passengers in the name of protecting forts, forests, highways, bridges, etc.; get his elephants reared and looked after by the village folk after distributing per village all of them. He should collect 1/6 from the income of his subjects for the purposes of his treasury in order to support and maintain the royal family, kith and kin, and collect taxes from the vacant houses i. e. from unexplored quarters where chances of wealth apparently seen feeble'.

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37. Lallanji Gopal, *Economic Life of Northern India*, (Varanasi, 1965), p. 28.

In the passage quoted above, status of a *kīnāśa,* and the '*nivartana*' is significant and needs some discussion. *Nivartana* was an ancient measurement of land.[38]

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38. D.C. Sircar, ***Epigraphic Glossary,*** (Varanasi, 1966) p. 220 and ***Indian Epigraphy,*** (Varanasi, 1965), pp. 409-410. A ***nivartana*** was an area of land which was not the same in different ages and regions. He takes a ***nivartana*** to signify an area 210×210 sq. cubits=2½ acres, taking a cubit=18"—20".

In the epigraphic and literary records, its varying measurements have been given. The Sātavāhana records dated 2nd cent. A.D. mention *nivartana* which was the same as Telugu Marutūru according to P. Sreenivasachara (*Corps. Ins. Tel. Dist.* pp. 206-8). Hultzch holds a *nivartana* being equivalent to 40000 sq. cubits or hastas on the basis of Kasakudi plates (SII, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 350, n. 12). ***Medieval*** Kannada, records also mention *nivartana* as the same as Mattār or Maṭṭaru (*SII,* Vol. XI, Pt. II, No. 136, l. 52 & 56).

The literary traditions, howevei give a varying data about the measurement of a *nivartana* piece of land. According to Bṛhaspati (5th Cent. A.D.) and Śātātapa (7th to 9th Cent. A.D.), the area of a *nivartana* land measured 300×300 sq. cubits (*Bṛhaspati Saṃhitā*, verse 8, ***Daśahastena daṇḍena triṃṣadaṇḍam nivartanam***) A thirteenth century inscription from Andhra Pradesh also quotes the aforesaid verse (Cf. Nellore District Inscriptions, Vol. I, p. 147, Copper plate No. 17, verse 28). Mitākṣarā commentary on Yājñavalkya (***Yājñavalkya*** I, 210) further reduces the area of a *nivartana* piece of nivartanam land (*Saptahastena Daṇḍena triṃsadaṇḍair*) to 210×210 sq. cubits. i.e. about 2½ acres. Bhāskarācārya in the ***Līlāvatī***, (ed.) S.R. Jha (Varanasi, Sam. 2027), p. 2, defines *nivartana* as a piece of land measuring 200×200 Sq. cubits :

Tathākaraṇam daśakenaaṃśaḥ nivartana viṃśati vaṃśasaṃkhyaiḥ Kṣetram caturbhiśca bhujairnirbandham (verse. 8)

He is also supported by Hemādri, a thirteenth century author quoted by M. Somasekhara Sarma, *History of the Reddi Kingdoms* p. 366-67, *Śukranītisāra*, now admittedly taken as a late eighteenth cent. A.D. work treats a *nivartana* covering an area of 112×112 sq. cubits.

The aforesaid data reveals that the area of a *nivartana* piece of land shows a progressive decrease as the centuries rolled by. The decrease probably suggests the increasing pressure on land and more and more infeudation and fragmentation.

Nīlakaṇṭha upholds the privilege of the king to get a piece of his ten *nivartana* land cultivated by a peasant cultivating a hundred *nivartanas*. Treating a *nivartana* equal to about 2.07 acres,[39] we may take the cultivator (*kīnāśa*) of a hundred *nivartanas* as being a big cultivator having a holding of about two hundred and seven acres. A question arises : whether such big peasants existed in the then society and the commentary of Nīlakaṇṭha reflects actual conditions of society as there is no reference to *viṣṭi* in the Maratha documents of the same period and region ? While commenting upon the verse Nīlakaṇṭha simply gave an illustration. It seems to have been picked up from a familiar and commonplace situation. In case of *viṣṭi*, a peasant cultivating a hundred *nivartanas* was cited as an illustration. Moreover, it seems to have been a prescriptive juridical expression of conventional type laying down the minimal amount of land, the cultivator of which was liable to *viṣṭi* service. Therefore, the illustration from a familiar situation and prescriptive juridical expression do not rule out the possibility of the existence of such big cultivators in the society. It appears from Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary that *viṣṭi* was widely prevalent in society probably as an extra legal and extra-constiutional Institution.[39] A cultivator of a piece of hundred *nivartanas* land and a trader carrying goods on the back of a hundred oxen were treated at par for the purposes of *viṣṭi*. Evidently such a cultivator was not an ordinary peasant but a feudal cultivator or landlord cultivator. Such peasants were required to cultivate ten *nivartanas* of crown-land by way of unpaid labour service. Such landlord cultivators would not have been able to cultivate all of their immense holdings with their own

39. Supra, p. 20 and fn. 2.

resources. They would have certainly engaged perforce other peasants to cultivate their holdings without paying wages. Obviously, such landlord cultivators would have passed the kings' demand of *viṣṭi* unto the shoulders of the other peasants. Here we find a feudal tinge in this form of *viṣṭi*. Obviously, Nīlakaṇṭha here implies two levels of labour service one higher and the other lower. At the higher level, there existed a relationship between the king and the big cultivators and traders where a king would expect *viṣṭi* from them. At this level, *viṣṭi* service would have been a source of prestige and obligation on the part of big cultivators. At this level, the big cultivators in fact used to do *viṣṭi* service to a king. At the lower level, such relationship existed between the big cultivators/traders and peasants. At this level, it would have become an instrument of exploitation of the peasants by big cultivators. Thus the obligation of the landlord cultivators was two-fold : at the higher level he used to do *viṣṭi* i.e. forced labour unto the king and enjoyed prestige by doing so; at the lower level, he had to provide and arrange for the same for the king. Here we encounter a new dimension of socio-economic relationship related to the feudal system. It does not only reflect the prevailing intensity of *viṣṭi* but also its nature. It seems to have been indirect in nature, something like the current indirect taxes. Here we find the germs of feudal formation which assumed wider dimension in the middle ages.[40] This situation is in marked contrast with the agrarian relations of second cent. A. D. as seen before.[41]

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40. B. N. S. Yadava, *Society and Culture in Northern India*, (Allahabad; 1973), p. 145.

41. Supra, p. 12.

The use of term *kīnāśa* in the commentary becomes important. Originally the word was used for a ploughman or cultivator[42] In the *Purāṇas*[43], he was treated as a *Vaiśya* and this meaning lingered on till about eighth cent. A. D. From eighth cent. A. D. onwards a *kīnāśa* was regarded as a *Śūdra* signifying his social degeneration.[44] Nīlakṇṭha's commentary makes it further clear that not only social but economic degeneration of the *kīnāśa* became more acute as centuries rolled by. Even the big *kīnāśas* were not spared from *viṣṭi* by the king and became significant intermediary in the exploitation process. They became instrument of exploitation for the king and people. Earlier than Nīlakaṇṭha, Jinasena, the author of the *Ādipurāṇa* (9th cent. A. D.) also advised the ruler to get his fields cultivated in the *bhaktagrāmas* (i. e. crownlands) by the *karmāntikas* and *kṛṣīvalas*.[45] From eighth cent. A. D. onwards the socio-economic degeneration of peasants at the hands of the rulers and landlord cultivators appears to have been a striking feature of Indian society. Nīlakaṇṭha was able to identify this situation in its clear perspective while commenting upon the *Mahābhārata*.

Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on Xv. 5. 41. is again revealing and marks a new shift in the meaning and implication of the word *viṣṭi* and *vyavahāriṇaḥ*. Like the verse quoted above, here too the term *viṣṭi* does not occur in the original.

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42. *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā*, Vol. II (Poona, 1976), 4. 57. 8.

43. *Viṣṇudharmottara*, III. 10. 3.

44. B.N.S.Yadava, *Society and Culture in Northern India*, (Allahabad, 1973), p. 41; "Problem of Interaction Between Socio-Economic Classes in the Early Medieval Complex", *I. H. R.*, Vol. III (1976) ; pp. 47-52.

45. *Ādipurāṇa*, 42, 144-177.

Instead, it is implied in the verse. The Epic asks Yudhiṣṭhira to treat the artisans and mechanics residing in his kingdom and doing his work like cattles and asses.[46] Commenting on the verse, Nīlakaṇṭha observes that those who were recruited for *viṣṭi* should be fed as one feeds cattles and asses in lieu of services rendered by them.[47] Here the term *vyavahāriṇaḥ* is used to signify the carpenters (*Kāru*) and artisans (*Śilpi*) (working for the king without any payment except food). In earlier literature the term *Vyavahāriṇaḥ* is used to denote a litigant. Here again, Nīlakaṇṭha seems to uphold an earlier tradition in vogue from the times of *Gautama Dharmasūtra*.[48] Gautama had prescribed that 'artisans and labourers, etc. should do one day's work every month for the king and the king must feed these persons while they work for him.' The same tradition was persistently followed in the *Agni-purāṇa* where artisans were asked to work for the king for a month every year free of charge, and labourers without any remuneration as long as they were fed.'[49] It reflects the practice and tradition of *viṣṭi* prevalent in society from earlier times although it declined in its rigours in some regions of India from 11-12th cent. A. D. onwards.[50]

Before making any guess about the area of *nivartana* and commenting on the varacity of Nīlakaṇṭha's observa-

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46. *Mbh*. XV. 5. 41.
47. Nīlakaṇṭha on the above in the *Mbh*. (ed.) R. C. Shastri Kinzawadekar (Poona, 1933) :
48. *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, X. 34.
49. *Agni-purāṇa*, 223-33.
50. B. N. S. Yadava, "Problem of Interaction between Socio-economic Classes in the Early Medieval Complex", *IHR*, Vol. III, No. 1, (July, 1976), p. 53.

tion on the prevalence of *viṣṭi*, it is important to know about his antecedents and age. He was a Maharashtra Brahmin belonging to modern Kopargaon on the river Godavari. He wrote his commentary on the Epic in Varanasi in 1694 A. D.[51] Although born in South-western Maharashtra, he worked in northern India and was thus familiar with both northern and southern traditions.

His commentary on XII. 138.21 does not necessarily reflect the conditions of the Epic times nor those of the commentator. As he was commenting upon an ancient and highly respected traditional text, he would not have dared deviating from the tradition. 'His commentary is the most trustworthy guide for the exposition of the great epic'.[52] His commentary in fact represents a tradition which becomes evident from the preamble of his commentary.[53]

What traditions did he follow in respect of the area of a *nivartana*? It stands to reason that he would have followed the dominant tradition of his age. The authorities nearer his own times were Vijñāneśvara (C. 1100 A. D.), Bhāskarācārya and Hemādri (C. 12th Cent. A. D.). Vijñāneśvara took a *nivartana* to cover an area of 210×210 sq. cubits where as Bhāskarācārya and Hemādri took it to be a little less covering an area of 200×200 sq. cubits.[54]

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51. V. S. Sukthankar, *Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata*, Vol. I, (Poona, 1944), p. 264, 277.

52. *Ibid*. p. 264.

53. *Bahūn samāhṛtya vibhinnadeśyān kośān viniścitya ca pāṭhamagryam Pracāṃ gurūṇāmanusṛtya vācam ārabhyate bhāratabhāvadīpaḥ.*

54. We have followed here the following scale :
    1. Cubits=18″
    2. Cubits=1 yard
    A *nivartana*=100×100 sq. yds=10000 sq. yds.
    Because 4840 sqr. yards=1 acre
    Therefore, 10,0000 sq. yds.=2.07 acres, or a *nivartana*.

Taking ten cubits = a *vaṃśa* or a rod as a standard, we may work out the area of a *nivartana* as being equal 200×200 sq. cubits = 10,000 sq. yds. or 2.07 acres. Even if we follow the area of a *nivartana* given in the Andhra records as observed earlier it would come to about four acres.

Such a situation clearly suggests the privileges which a king enjoyed over his feudal lords who in turn anticipated similar services that the authors of the Epic were aware of the changing relations of production. The changing production relations signify a situation when labour service was becoming gradually forced and unpaid under the increasing influence of feudal tendencies in the society. The instances of prevailing *viṣṭi* in its several forms suggests that the authors of the Epic were aware of the changing socio-economic situation but probably could not identify the change and label it. It emerged in the Epic and became noticeable fully in Nīlakaṇṭha's time. The changing situations had its influence on the minds of the thinkers and the transition to the feudal order of society found a cognition in these verses. But this simply indicates a cognition of the changing situation and not a full and perfect expression of the situation.

Conclusion

Numerous references to *viṣṭi* both direct and indirect in the Epic highlight the prevalence of the same. The term *viṣṭi* has different shades of meaning and facets in the Epic. At one place it implies unpaid labour involving certain amount of coercion. In some sections of the Epic datable after the first cent. A. D. prevalence of *viṣṭi* is highlighted on a wider scale. A class of people exacting *viṣṭi* (*viṣṭikaraḥ*) harrassing and exploiting the people become a common

phenomenon so much so that people started fleeing from their places.

Exploiters faced trouble for want of forced labour service which became deficient, inter alia, largely owing to the growing money economy from the 11th-12th centuries onwards. Here *viṣṭi* assumes the form of forced labour. Getting works done with coercion without any payment is one shade of the meaning of *viṣṭi*. This marks a change in the connotation of *viṣṭi* from earlier ages where in the *Arthaśāstra* it was used to denote labour engaged by the state for multifarious purposes.[55]

In two cases in the Epic, *viṣṭi* constitutes to be one of the constituents of the eightfold army. It connotes the corps of unpaid labourers or porters engaged in the army and recruited probably through conscription or coercive method. It appears that the practice of *viṣṭi* was getting intensified as is evident from the late sections of the Epic datable around fourth cent. A. D. and somewhat later. Even the *Brāhmaṇas* were not spared from *viṣṭi*. A righteous king was sanctioned the privilege of exacting *viṣṭi* even from the *Brāhmaṇas* except the *śrotriyas* and *agnihotris*. Here according to the commentator it means service unto the king without payment of wages, salary or remuneration.

The reference to the exaction of *viṣṭi* by a king from his dependents (*poṣyavarga*) for the cultivation of his fields and carriage of his goods is a significant statement. Similarly the privilege of the king of getting works done by the artisans and craftsmen simply by providing food to them (and not wages or remuneration). is important. These

55. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, 10. 1. 9; 10. 1. 17; 13. 4. 8; 9. 2. 9.

references point to a new emergent formation, the like of which was not encountered before. Such a situation recalls the conditions of the fourth cent. A. D. onwards when Indian socio-economic order was undergoing a transformation. Recently Majumdar has observed that the feudal period of Indian history was separated from the Epic age by at least a millennium. He has rightly posed a question that if there was feudalism in later age, was the Epic society also feudal ? He wonders how could the institutions of the Epic age *which was not feudal* develop into feudal institutions. He expressed his doubts in no uncertain terms to identify a period of transition from one social order to the other and viewed the fluctuating modes of production and distribution to be goal-less.[56] In the light of the aforesaid references to *viṣṭi* a period of transition to feudalism characterized by a new emergene social relationship is marked out in a clear manner. References to *viṣṭi* are one of its kind; there are several other facts in the Epic that suggest the transition to feudal order which the historians have been carefully searching to identify. It is now widely accepted that elements of feudal social order emerged in full view of history in six and seventh cent. A. D. and later developed under two distinct phases in the early middle ages. The basic elements of the socio-economic formation of feudalism did not originate all of a sudden but gradually grew out of the womb of the preceding ages under the influence of the changing instruments of production and resultant production relations. But unfortunately the stages of transition to the feudal formation could not be identified probably so far. Here in these verses we find a recognition of the

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56. A. K. Majumdar, *Economic Background of the Epic Society*, (Calcutta, 1977), pp. 220-225.

changing conditions. We get the germs of the incipient feudalism taking roots in Indian social order. The rise of the landlord cultivators with dependent peasantry, exaction of forced labour from the peasant cultivators, traders, artisans and craftsmen who in turn might have passed the demand on to the peasants suggest prevalence of *viṣṭi* on a wider scale. The intensity and in some cases the indirect nature of *viṣṭi* also becomes clear from the commentary of Nīlakaṇṭha. In spite of the fact that his commentary has a contemporary reference, it cannot be gainsaid that it preserves the tradition handed down from earlier ages. For example, the fact of the rearing of king's elephants by others was highlighted earlier by Kullūka a 13th century commentator of Manu.[57] Manu has observed :

कारुकान् शिल्पिनश्चैव शूद्रांश्चात्मोपजीविनः ।
एकैकं कारयेत्कर्म मासि मासि महीपतिः ॥

Kullūka commentary on the aforesaid verse says that those artisans and craftsmen who subsist by toiling should not be tortured excessively by *Viṣṭi* etc. This tradition was also referred to by Ram Chandra, another commentator on Manu. Earlier Bhāruci[58] has also referred to this tradition of taking work from those living by personal labour for a day in a month.

Manu[59] has further observed :

कृत्स्नञ्चाष्टविधं कर्म पञ्चवर्गञ्च तत्त्वतः ।
अनुरागपरागौ च प्रचारं मण्डलस्य च ॥

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57. *Mānavadharmaśāstra* (ed.) V. N. *Mandlik* (Bombay, 1886), 7.138, p. 821.
58. Bhāruci's commentary on the *Manusmṛti* (tr. ed.) J. D. M. Derret, (Weisbaden, 1975), Vol. II, p. 69.
59. *Manusmṛti*, 7. 154.

Bhāruci[60] refers to the tradition of eightfold concerns of the King which was later followed by Medhātithi. Medhātithi has referred to two different traditions regarding the eightfold concerns of the King, the latter of which was followed by Kullūka and Nīlakaṇṭha. Medhātithi on Manu 7.154 records :

अकृतारम्भकृतानुष्ठानं अनुष्ठितविशेषणं कर्मफलसंग्रहः तथा साममेददान-दण्डमेतदष्टविधं कर्म । अथवा वणिक्पथउदकसेतुबंधनं दुर्गकरणं कृतस्य वा तत्संस्कार-नियमः हस्तिबन्धनं खतिखनिनं शून्यनिवेशनम् दारुवनच्छेदनं चेति । अपरेत्याहुः ।

Kullūka, the thirteenth century commentator on Manu quoting Medhātithi on earlier authorities refers to the tradition of *Hastibandhanam*, *setubandhana* etc. It is, therefore, clear that Nīlakaṇṭha was not writing about his age but was highlighting the force of continuity of the earlier traditions regarding the vogue of *Viṣṭi*.

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60. Bhāruci's commentary on the *Mānusmṛti* (tr. & ed.) J. D. M. Derret, Vol. I, p. 73; Vol. II p. 72.

BUDDHI (INTELLECT) AND ITS MANIFESTATIONS

From The Sāṃkhya Point Of View

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Explains the *Buddhi* tattva, its mechanism and properties, and *jñāna*, *vairāgya* and *aiśvarya* with their kinds.

Buddhi is the first evolute of *mūlaprakṛti* and the first principle which is *vyakta* or manifest. It is the synonym of *mahat* which is the principal principle because it produces the fruit in the shape of knowledge.

Buddhi is defined by the classical commentators in many ways. It is rather difficult to find out an exact equivalent for the word *buddhi* and to understand precisely what is meant by it. *STV*. defines it "*adhyavasāya or sandeharahitajñāna*," determinative consciousness capable of discrimination (*samānāsamānajātīyavyavacchedakatva*). *VM*. holds that *buddhi* itself is determination which identifies "This is a jar", "This is cloth" etc. on the principle that the action is not different from the active agent.

The term *adhyavasāya* is from the root "*so*" with the prefix "*adhi*" and "*ava*". It can mean "attempt", "effort", "exertion", "perseverance" etc., and "*buddhi*" is derived from "*budh*" "to know" "knowing", "intellect".

Adhyavasāya is used with reference to one whose *buddhi* is controlled or properly directed and is determinate. The *Gauḍapāda Bhāṣya* translated and commented upon by Colebrooke and Wilson gives many illustrations for the term *buddhi*. It is used in the sense of 'the great principle, (*mahat*) and demonic (*āsura*) power also which is incapable of conveying "divine knowledge" and "true knowledge" (*jñāna*) etc. Usually the term *buddhi* stands for true or divine knowledge, i. e. the knowledge of matter and spirit leading to liberation. And since creation is for the benefit of the self, the organisation of *mahat* is not for its own sake. True knowledge is again *mati*, *prajñā* and *khyāti*.

Mechanism of Buddhi

Buddhi is the discriminative wisdom and it is the power of decision. Just as light enters into a dark room through the doors and windows even so knowledge enters the mind through the sense organs. It is the knowledge which gets enriched by itself connecting the unknown with the known. Knowledge is always due to the operation of *buddhi* that assumes the form of the object of perception and *buddhi* so transformed is then intelligised by the reflection of Puruṣa. As explained by *VM*. *buddhi* through the sense organs comes into touch with external objects. At the first moment of this touch there is an indeterminate consciousness in which the particulars of thing cannot be noticed and it is by the function of *manas* that object is determinately perceived and it is to be noticed that *VB*. differs from the views of *VM*. and says that *buddhi* directly comes into touch with the objects through the senses, and thus he denies the synthetic activity of the mind. According to him Puruṣa and *buddhi* are unrelated and *buddhi* being a product of Prakṛti is unconscious.

Prakṛti becomes intelligised by the intellect, which reflects the consciousness of Puruṣa and the inherent ahaṃkāra of *buddhi* is falsely appropriated by the self. After that the *viṣayākāravṛtti* of the intellect is reflected back in the self and it appears as if Puruṣa is knowing the object through the *vṛttis*. *VM.* defines *buddhi* as a determinate principle since there is no difference between the action of determining and the active agent which determines. The *buddhi* changes are further associated with the reflection of Puruṣa in *buddhi* and they are interpreted as the experience of Puruṣa. Thus the Sāṃkhya theory of sense-knowledge is that it is not Puruṣa (the soul which is free from bondage like a water–drop on a lotus-leaf) that knows, but *buddhi* tattva in the presence of Puruṣa which knows by means of the senses.

Properties of Buddhi

Buddhi has eight manifestations which are broadly of two types : *sāttvika* which is goodness and *tāmasa* is darkness. *Dharma* (virtue), *Jñāna* (knowledge), *vairāgya* (dispassion) and *aiśvarya* (power) are the sāttvika type and *adharma* (vice), *ajñāna* (ignorance), *avairāgya* (passion) and *anaiśvarya* (weakness) are the tāmasic type. The attributes *dharma, Jñāna, vairāgya* and *aiśvarya* are really attributes of *buddhi* when it feeds on the sattva, and the negative attributes originate when *buddhi* feeds on tamas. It must not be forgotten that when it evolves the elements, sattva, rajas, and tamas are equally present though in different proportions.

Dharma or Virtue

Virtue leads to prosperity and to the highest of good

because it comprises compassion, benevolence, acts of restraint (*yama*) and acts of obligation (*niyama*).

The knowledge of eternal and non-eternal objects, renunciation and the like which are gained by dharma help one to attain the highest of good, paving the way to salvation and the *Yo.Su.* says that it can be attained by the eightfold ways.

Paramārtha divides virtue into *yama* and *niyama* (mentioned already). Gauḍapāda explains this in terms of the *Yo. Su.* whereas Paramārtha's explanation is different. According to him *yama* is fivefold viz., 1. not to give oneself to anger. 2. to respect one's spiritual master. 3. to possess internal and external purity. 4. to be moderate in eating and drinking and 5. not to become addicted to licence. Similarly *yama* also is of five types. It entails one 1. not to kill. 2. not to steal. 3. to speak the truth. 4. to practise continence and 5. not to flatter.

Jñāna or Knowledge

Knowledge is the discriminative wisdom that helps one to know the difference between the manifest and the unmanifest as well as to practise non-attachment to the various objects. Knowledge is divided into two, viz., internal knowledge and external knowledge agreeing with *Gauḍapāda*. External knowledge helps one to acquire worldly distinction or admiration whereas internal knowledge leads to liberation. The six Vedāṅgas constitute the external form of knowledge as found in the Vedas and they are 1. *Śikṣā* (treatise on phonetics), 2. *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar) 3. *Kalpa* (ritual) 4. *Jyotiṣa* (astronomy) 5. *Chanda* (prosody) 6. *Nirukta* (etymology).

Internal knowledge is that "which is produced between the three guṇas and the spirit" and final deliverance is obtained by it.

Vairāgya or Dispassion

It is the state of absence of attachment. It is defined in the *Yo.Su.* as the dispassion named *Vaśīkārasaṃjñā* belonging to one who has no desire for either sensuous or supersensuous objects.

It is of two kinds namely external and internal. The former is the indifference of one who condemns objects by observing their defects, the trouble of acquiring and preserving them, the inconvenience caused by attachment to them, their liability to decay and the misery they cause. The latter is the indifference of one who is desirous of liberation and looks upon the organic world as if it were a piece of witchcraft or dream. External absence of passion comes according to Paramārtha, when we seek, when we guard and when we lose our possessions and it leaves us still in saṃsāra and it is only the internal absence of passion that gives us deliverance.

VM. has the credit in putting the dispassion into four stages.

1. *Yatamānasaṃjñā* (Endeavour stage)

Attachment and other emotions are common to a human being and reside in the mind. They incite the sense organs to activity towards their respective objects. Effort should be taken to dispel the impurities of the mind and this is the first form of dispassion.

2. *Vyatirekasaṃjñā* (Discriminative stage)

After the first process of dispassion there would be certain impurities already cured and others yet to be cured. This stage is the one which is styled the discriminative dispassion.

3. *Ekendriyasaṃjñā* (One sense organ stage)

In due course when the sense organs are incapable of action the impurities that have been cured continue to be there in the form of a mere longing and it is the third stage.

4. *Vaśīkārāsaṃjñā* (Control stage)

This is the subsequent stage to the former three described by Patañjali.

Aiśvarya (Power)

It is an abstract property and is eightfold :

1. *Aṇimā*—This is the ability to be reduced almost to nothingness.

2. *Laghimā*—It is the power which makes one light as *manas* and ready even to reach to the world of the Sun.

3. *Garimā*—It is gravity leading to heaviness.

4. *Mahimā*—It is greatness.

5. *Prāpti*—To attain easily what one desires to enjoy.

6. *Prākāmya*--Power to enjoy everything one desires to enjoy as soon as one entertains the desire.

7. *Vaśitva*—It is the skill to keep under control, all objects of the phenomenal world and establish supremacy over all the gross and subtle elements.

8. *Kāmāvasāyitā*—It is that by which all objects move according to the will of one person.

Paramārtha adds īśitva, that is, to be the supreme Lord of the three worlds omitting Garimā which is admitted by *VM.* in *TK.* Jayamaṅgalā places kāmāvasāyitā in the place of garimā and adds īśitva to make up the eight.

Tāmasa type of *buddhi* is directly opposed to the sāttvika character of *buddhi* and hence needs no further elucidation.

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12.	*Yoga Sūtra with Vyāsa's commentary. (yo.* 54)	Ed. Ramaprasad. Sacred Books of the Hindus, Allahabad.
13.	*Study of the Sāṃkhya Kārikā with special reference to Sāṃkhyataruvasanta. (STV)*	Dr. P. K. Sasidharan, Madurai Kamaraj University, 1974.
14.	*Concept of puruṣa in the sāṃkhya system.*	Dr. P. K. Sasidharan, *Annals of Oriental Research*, Madras University, Silver jubilee Volume.
15.	*Guṇas and their contradictory traits in Sāṃkhya.*	Dr. P. K. Sasidharan, *Madurai University Journal*, 1978.
16.	*Mudumbi Narasimhacarya.*	Dr. P. K. Sasidharan, Madras Univ. Journal 1977.
17.	*Prakṛti puruṣa siddhāntam*	Dr. P. K. Sasidharan, Visalakeralam, Bombay, 1975.
18.	*Puruṣārtha jñānamidam.*	Dr. P. K. Sasidharan, Visalakeralam, Bombay, 1976.
19.	*Karma and Rebirth*	Dr. P. K. Sasidharan, *Madurai Kamaraj University Journal*. 1979.
20.	*Concept of Prakṛti in the Sāṃkhya system.*	Dr. P. K. Sasidharan, *Saṃskṛta Vimarśa*, Rastriya Samskṛta Samsthan, New Delhi. Vol. V December, 1977.
21.	*Mudumbi Narasimhacarya's Commentary on Sāṃkhya Kārikā.*	Dr. P. K. Sasidharan. Summary of Papers, AIOC., Ujjain. 1971.
22.	*Śvetāśvataropaniṣad on the Sāṃkhya Point of View.*	Dr. P. K. Sasidharan, *M. K. University Journal*. 1980.

AJĀMITĀ AND SPEECH-COUPLING

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Discusses the concept of the *mithuna* of the *ajāmi* (procreative) type. Gonda takes it to mean un-uniformity, the purpose being disparity, that is, to break the uniformity in the ritual. A slight difference in the ritual and speech gives the two things of the same class a different status. Here the present author differs from Gonda in that *ajāmitā* is of a category and not of a class and so there is no question of un-uniformity or disparity. The *Yama-Yamī* hymn forms the basis of the concept of *jāmi-ajāmi*. *Jāmi* is a simple pair and hence non-productive. *Ajāmi* coupling is procreative. So the Vedic ritualists emphasize the *ajāmi* type of mithuna.

The words *jāmi* and *a-jāmi* occur at various places in the *Ṛgveda*, in various combinations; and scholars have generally rendered them as indicating opposites in meaning, "*related and foreign*", "*sister and non-sister*" or "*cognate* and *non-cognate* and the like. In the *Ṛgveda* the word *jāmi*-indicates "sister" at various places[1], and at certain places *jāmi* and *ajāmi* might indicate "*friends and the enemies*[2]". Yāska has understood the word *jāmi* as meaning, "something in excess (*atireka*) in the first instance; also "foolish or boyish in appearance" and also of the same species "as against *Ajāmi* which means "of a different species" (*Nir*. IV. 20). At another place Yāska explains the word *jāmi* as "that which is expressed in

1. *RV*. I. 23. 16; III. 31. 2 etc.
2. I. 113. 3; 124. 6 etc.

the same way in one verse (*Nir*. X. 16 *samānāyām ṛci smānābhivyāhāram bhavati taj jāmi bhavatītyekam)*; the example of this type given by Yāska is *madhu-mantam madhuścutam*" (*RV*. IV. 57.2), where the word *madhu-mantam* occurs in the first quarter of the verse, while *madhuś cutam* in the third quarter; but both in the same verse. The meaning of both these words is alike, for, the second presupposes the first, and both have *madhu* in them. The example of the second type has been given in *hiraṇya-rūpaḥ as hiraṇya-sandṛk* (*RV*. II. 35. 10) where both the words occur in the first quarter; and this is explained by Yāska as "that which is expressed in the same way in a quarter" (*Ibid. yad eva samāne pade samānābhivyāhāram bhavati taj jāmi bhavatītyaparam)*. In these two types of *jāmi* the only difference is that the similar expression occurs in a verse or in the same quarter. Yāska explains the word *a-jāmi* as indicating that pair of words which show even a little difference. *(Ibid. yathā-kathā ca Viśeṣo-(a)jāmi bhavatītyparam)*. The example of this last type given by Yāska is *maṇḍūka ivodakān maṇḍūka udakād iva (RV*. X. 166.5), where the placement of the word *iva* is indicated to make a slight difference; and this is sufficient, according to Yāska, to have a case of *a-jāmi*. Now, the difference suggested by Yāska is not quite clear, for, if even a slight *(yathā-kathā)* difference makes the case for *a-jāmi*, we have such difference in the two earlier examples (given by Yāska as of *jāmi*). Reverting to the first set of meanings given by Yāska, we have him giving the example from the Yama-Yamī hymn ("Where the *jāmis* might enact the *a-jāmi*). Mehendale[3], who has examined the meaning of these words, does not take into consi-

3. *SP*, AIOC, Jadavpur V-22, P. 19.

deration the second set of examples given by Yāska; and restricting himself to the Yama-Yamī hymn follows Yāska and gives the final meaning of *a-jāmi* as "Foolish twins or twins belonging to a different class (i.e. not human)". However, the expression is *jāmayaḥ kṛṇavann a-jāmi*, where it is the word *jāmi* that is in the plural. Again, the surmise of the "foolish twin" does not suit the sacred riddle of the hymn. This means, we have to probe the point further. The fact is that the expression in the Yama-Yamī hymn cannot be understood without taking into consideration the ritual-tradition, where the words *jāmi-ajāmi* comes often. The words are closely connected with the concept of duality (or coupling or pairing, i.e. *mithuna*). Gonda[4], in his study of the Dual deities has made a general survey of the concept of *mithuna* in the ritual set-up; and has rightly pointed out the case for *a-jāmitā* or *a-jāmitva*, which the ritual-texts stress for a specific purpose. This purpose is understood by Gonda as "disparity" and he renders the word *jāmi* and *a-jāmi* as "uniformity and un-uniformity". Thus, when two sacrificial cakes are offered in order, there is a silent offering between these two, with the purpose of *a-jāmitā* (*Tai. Saṃ*. 2.6.6.4; *ajāmitvāya*;[5] and the purpose, according to Gonda, is "to break the uniformity". The point is, why should this uniformity be broken ? And it is here that Gonda does not seem to make a clear difference between the concept of *mithuna* and *jāmi*. The point is that the silent offering changes the status of the subsequent sacrificial

4. *The Dual Deities in the Religion of the Veda*, Amsterdam, London, 1974.

5. *Ibid*. p. 64.

cake. The first cake is offered with a *yajus* and the second one is preceded by silence. Here the coupling is of the vocal offering and the silent one; hence, they are different *(ajāmi)*, though essentially the same (cakes). This slight difference *(yathā-kathā)* gives the two a different status, though they belong to the same class (i.e. of the cake). The concept in *a-jāmitā* is, hence, of a category and not of a class. And there is no question of un-uniformity or disparity.

The crux of the concept in *a-jāmitva* is not so much the disparity or the difference in class, as the speciality; and this speciality, in a wider sense, has to be understood in the context of ritual. In the references to *jāmi-ajāmi* from the *Ṛgveda* this point is not well marked; but the juxtaposition of these words in the hymn of Yama-Yamī is clearly on a different footing. This reference has become, or indicates, the basis of the concept of *jāmi-ajāmi* in the whole ritual set up as we find it in the later ritual-texts; and the zeal of the vedic ritualists to see that a pair does not remain *jāmi*, but that it has to be the *a-jāmi* one, has to be taken into account. This pair, then, has to be understood in the wider set-up of the *mithuna*. The special sense of the *mithuna* that this pair gets is absent in the other references to this pair of words in the *Ṛgveda*, except for the Yama-Yamī hymn. The special difference between the *jāmi* and the *a-jāmi mithuna* is clearly expressed by the *Jai. Br.* in the following words : "What is *jāmi* is not (really) the *mithuna*; it is not procreative. . . . Indeed, what the *a-jāmi* is (in reality) the *mithuna*; that is procreative" *(Jai. Br. I.* 298). This is a clear advance from the general sense of the word *mithuna* that obtains elsewhere viz., *mithunam prajananam* or *dvandvam mithunam prajananam* or even *daivyam mithunam prajananam*. In all these expressions the

concept of *a-jāmitva* is implied, which is made clear by the *Jai. Br.* The *jāmi mithuna* is a simple pair, non-productive as it is non-copulative, being, may be, because it comprises two males[6], or a pair of forbidden degrees. Yama and Yamī are *Jāmi* in this latter sense; as they are brother and sister; and this latter sense is secondary. When the ritualists stressed the need for the *a-jāmi* pair, they had in mind the formation of a real copulative 'couple'; for the *Jāmi* would be a homo-sexual pair a non-productive one, which will be useless in view of the aim of the sacrifice, which was productivity.

The *ajāmitva* is brought about by even a slight difference, as we have noted above. In the example we have taken at the beginning the *a-jāmitva* is accomplished in the offerings of the cake with and without the *yajus*, and that makes the difference in the sex, irrespective of the gender of the main word (*yajus* in the present context). It should be noted that the paraphrase of *a-jāmitā* as *atireka* is by the later interpreters[7], taking clue from Yāska; the ritual-texts use simply the word *a-jāmitā*. As the silent (*upāṃśu*) offering is the cause of creating *a-jāmitva*, there are also other ways of creating the same. One such method is 'non-utterance' of the same name. Thus in the context of the offerings to the various seasons, in the first round they are offered to by their names; and in the second round, they are offered to only "in the form of clarified butter" (*Śat. Br.* 1. 3. 2. 7-8). Now, the non-utterance of the

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6. Cf. *Jai. Br.* I. 298. *yathā pumāṃsau vā saha śayātām striyau vā. kiṃ pumāṃsau saha śayānau prajanayetām kiṃ striyau.*

7. Cf. Sāyaṇa on *Śat. Br.* I. 5. 3.8 *ajāmitāya iti anatirekāya. jāmi atirekanāma iti Yāskaḥ.*

names for the second time would, naturally, be understood as doing away with unnecessary repetition *(atireka)*; but there is hardly any evidence to show that the ritualists disliked or avoided repetition and cared for brevity; as a matter of fact, elaboration is the characteristic of ritual. Thus, the meaning of *a-jāmitā* cannot be "non-repetition". Like the silence, in the example above, the case is for the employment of a new method for creating *ājāmitā*. This is done by the direction, *ājyasyaiva rūpeṇa gṛhṇāti*. Thus, one form of the seasons is indicated by actually naming them, while the other by the clarified butter offered without the utterance of the name. The ultimate result is the same as silence; and the *ajāmi* pair is : Expression - Non-expression. It is specifically said that here clarified butter stands as the form of the season *(ājyasya rūpeṇa)*, thus, in another aspect one form is the name of the season, while the other is that of the clarified butter. That the concept in *a-jāmitā* is not merely of avoiding repetition *(atireka)* is clear from another example. In the context of the invocation of Iḍā (personification of the offering) it is said that the various expressions, numbering four, are the four feet of the Cow (Iḍā). They are *(iḍā) upahūtā upahūtā iḍā ; upo asmān iḍāhvayatām ; iḍā upahūtā* (*Śat. Br.* I.8.1.24). It will be seen that the words are all repeated. what matters is the way; and this is to form the *a-jāmi* couple by changing the way of expression. The direction that has to be noted is : "variously, indeed, are they be invoked; it will make *jāmi* if only it is said, '*iḍā upahūtā-iḍā upahūtā*' or only '*upahūtā iḍā-upahūtā iḍā*' " *(Ibid. 25)*.

The concept of speciality in the word *a-jāmi* has already been recorded by Yāska in the second set of his examples, when he describes it as *Viśeṣa* : this is also borne out by his

rendering of *a-jāmi* as *a-samānajātīya* in the earlier set of explanations of *jāmi*. It is to be noted that the explanation "foolish" for *jāmi* by him is influenced by the Yama-Yamī verse, where Yamī appears *to him* as *bāliśa*. His examples for *ajāmi* are from the sphere of speech, or word; and there can hardly be any doubt about his being influenced in this by the ritual-tradition, which used pairs of dissimilar words having the same (or similar) meaning with the idea of forming copulative duals. There are any number of examples of this tendency. We may take a few examples. Thus, in the context of taking the various *grahas* it is said that if the same name is uttered it becomes *jāmi*; hence, slight difference *(viśeṣa)* is to be made: *upayāma-gṛhīto' si, āgrāyaṇo'si, svarāyaṇaḥ*. The addition of *su* to *āgrāyaṇa* helps create an *a-jāmi* pair (*Śat. Br.* IV. 2.2.9). The case of *vetu* and *vyantu* is another example of this sort (*Śat. Br.* I. 5.3.15 *vyantv 'iti vai yoṣā, vetv' iti vṛṣā*).

What has been said above will make clear that the concept of *jāmi-ajāmi* in the ritual context is an extension of the concept of the procreative *mithuna*. The same concept is extended to the sphere of speech and the formation of lauds *(sāmans)*, where the *ajāmitva* is indicated in the terms *nyūna* (also called *ūna* at certain places) and *atirikta*. Though it is not expressed in so many words, two *nyūna* lauds would be *Jāmi*; and so would be the case with two *atirikta* lauds. The concept is as striking as it is interesting. The *nyūna*, ("minus") laud is said to be the female or woman, while the *atirikta* ("plus")[8] is the male or man. It is the *atirikta*

8. Keith renders the word nyūna as "small", *Ṛgveda Br.* Tr., p. 206; Gonda renders the words as "dificient and redundant", *op. cit.* p. 64. Both are not apt; for, they do not bring home the bodily structure of the male and the female.

that places the 'seed' in the *nyūna*, which then produces (cf. *Ai. Br.* VI.9 *nyūnād vai prajāḥ prajāyante* ; *Śat. Br.* I.3.17.18 *ūnād iva hi prajāḥ prajāyante* ; this expression obtains at various places. Such pairs of *nyūna* and the *atirikta* were accomplished, or used at the ritual for procreation and weal (cf. *Tai. Saṃ.* V.1.8.4 *ūnātiriktā mithunā prajātyai).* Various types of such pairs are noted. In the normal method the letters in a quarter of the Virāj metre, ten in number, are taken as the unit; in certain cases the multiple of ten is the norm on the same basis; as the Virāj is of ten verses (cf. *Śat. Br.* II.5.1.20 *daśākṣarā vai virāṭ),* a unit of nine verses in any metre is taken to form the female laud; and that of eleven forms the male laud. Thus, 200 or 240 total verses, or the exact multiple of ten is the norm; any combination having a verse less than this number is the female laud-unit *(stoma),* and that having more is male. Thus, in the triad technically known as the Trikadruka, there are three stomas: Jyotiṣṭoma, Goṣṭoma and the Āyuṣṭoma. Out of these, the Āyuṣṭoma is said to be the female; the Goṣṭoma is the male and the Jyotiṣṭoma is the offspring of these two. The Goṣṭoma consists of 241 *stotriya* verses (15 in the Bahiṣpavamāna rite+36 in the four Ājyaśastras+85 in the Mādhyandina Soma-pressing+105 in the third pressing =241). As it is in excess by one, it is the male. The Āyuṣṭoma has respectively 9+60+85+105=259; this number is one less than the normal multiple of 10 (260); this is the female laud *Pañc. Br.* IV.8;XVI.1-3; also *Kāṭhaka Saṃ.* XXXIII.2; *Jai. Br.*II.166;II.439; XXVII.16; *Tai. Saṃ.* VII.4.11.1-2 *ekayā gaur atiriktā, ekayā āyur ūna).* Another example is the verse in the Gāyatrī metre; which has one letter short *(ūnākṣarā).* Here though there is no *atirikta* to represent the male, the normal quarter of 8 letters serves for the same (cf. *RV.* IX. 11.1;IX.64.28 etc.). Many more

types may be cited; but that does not form part of the present paper.[9] Suffices to say that all these formations are, in essence, aspects of the central concept of the *mithuna* of the *a-jāmi* type which is the procreative spell of the Vedic ritualists.

9. See my book *Sexual Symbolism from the Vedic Ritual*, Delhi, 1979, pp. 97-114.

THE STORY OF DAKṢA-YAJÑA-NĀŚA

A CRITICAL STUDY

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The *Ṛgveda* and the Brāhmaṇas refer to the story of Prajāpati's cohabitation with his daughter in the form of a male deer (*Ṛśya*). Annoyed at this action of his, Rudra pierces him. Moreover in the Brāhmaṇas, Prajāpati is identified with sacrifice and is also called Dakṣa Prajāpati (stated to be the son of Brahmā in the Epics and the Purāṇas. According to Gopatha Brāhmaṇa Rudra pierced *yajña* because Prajāpati deprived him of his share. Thus, the story of *Dakṣa-yajña-nāśa* by Śiva throws light on the origin of god Śiva. Rudra or Śiva was originally a non-Vedic deity who later held a prominent position after his violent reaction towards gods.

The destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice by Śiva is an important story of Mahādeva, which is utilised to a great extent by the Sanskrit poets such as Kālidāsa,[1] Śūdraka,[2] Harṣa,[3]

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1. *Raghuvaṃśa* (ed. Haridas Siddhantvagisha Bhattacharyya, Nakipur, Bangābda,), 11.44; *Kumārasambhava* (Ed. Suryakanta, New Delhi, 1962), 1.21.54; *Abhijñānaśākuntala* (ed. A.B. Gajendragadkar, sixth ed. Surat), 6.
2. *Mṛcchakaṭika* (ed. M. R. Kale, new ed. Bombay, 1962), 10.46.
3. *Ratnāvalī* (ed. M.R. Kale, third ed., Bombay,), 1.3.

Bāṇabhaṭṭa,[4] Māgha[5] and Śrīharṣa.[6]

The earliest form of this story is traceable in the *Mahābhārata*. It is stated in the Śānti-parvan thrice, twice in the detail[7] and once in brief.[8] The Droṇa,[9] Sauptika.[10] and the Anuśāsana-parvan of this epic also briefly narrate the story. The first version of the story as narrated in the *Mahābhārata*, Śānti-parvan, informs us that once, in ancient times, Prājāpati Dakṣa performed a sacrifice in which all the gods were invited except Śiva. Beholding the deities repairing to the sacrifice of Dakṣa Umā, the consort of Śiva, enquired of her husband where the gods were going. Śiva told her that they were invited by Prajāpati Dakṣa to attend the sacrifice arranged by him. Umā further asked Śiva why he also did not go with them. He replied that in ancient periods the gods had arranged such that no share was assigned to him of offerings

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4. *Harṣacarita* (ed. P. Kane, first ed., Bombay, 1918), ch. I, p. 18, l. 24 ch. 2, p. 35, l. 22; bh. 3, d-45, 1.18; *Kādambarī* (ed. K.P. Parab, ninth ed. Bombay, 1948, i. p. 278, 1.1; *Caṇḍīśataka* (ed. Pandit Durgprasada and K. P. Parab, third ed., Bombay, 1937), 62, *Pārvatīpariṇaya* (Nirnayasagar Press ed. Fourth ed., Bombay, 1923), 1.7.

5. *Śiśupālavadha* (Ramchandra Kak and Harabhatta Shastri, Srinagar 1936), 17.7, 19.54.

6. *Naiṣadhacarita* (Nirnayasagara Press, ninth ed., Bombay, 1952), 4.45, 67; 22.78.

7. *Mahābhārata* (Poona Critical ed., 1933-1959), 12.274.5-40; Appendix-I, No. 28, p. 2049 ff.

8. *Ibid.*, 12.330.42-4.

9. *Ibid.*, 7.173.41-3, 50-1.

10. *Ibid.*, 10.18. 2-26.

in sacrifices and accordingly the gods would allot to him no share of the sacrifice of Dakṣa. Finding that her husband, whom she considered to be superior of all the gods, was, so treated by the deities, Umā was extremely grieved, at the sight of which Śiva ordered Nandin to wait upon the goddess and himself went with all his Yogic force to the place where Dakṣa was sacrificing and completely ruined the sacrifice. Then the Sacrifice assumed the form of a deer and fled away to the sky. Śiva noticed it and pursued it with bow and arrow. In consequence of the wrath with which the heart of Śiva was then filled, a drop of sweat fell on the earth from his forehead and from that drop there appeared a blazing fire, out of which issued forth a formidable being named *Jvara* (Fever) which consumed the embodied form of the Sacrifice. Being much frightened at the sight of that dreadful being the gods and the sages fled in all directions. At this Brahmā appeared to Śiva and assured him that the gods would henceforth give him a share of all sacrifices. He requested Śiva to withdraw his anger and asked him to distribute *Jvara,* sprung from his wrath into many parts, because Brahmā thought that if the wrath of Śiva remained, all collected together in the form of *Jvara,* then earth would not be able to bear it. Thus propitiated by Brahmā Śiva agreed to his request and from that time he began to obtain a share of sacrifices[11].

The second version[12] of the story as found in the *Mahābhārata*-Śānti-parvan, is as follows :–

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11. See also., 13.145. 10-23.

12. In the Poona Critical ed. of the *Mbh.*, this version of the story is given in the Appendix.

In ancient times Prajāpati Dakṣa commenced a sacrifice at Gaṅgādvāra on the mountain Himālaya. All gods, demons, semi-divine personages and various living beings were invited at that sacrifice except the god Śiva. Not finding Śiva among the gods the sage Dadhīci became filled with wrath and said that a sacrifice could not be regarded as a sacrifice on a lawful ceremony in which Rudra was not worshipped. He predicted that a terrible calamity was impending in course of the sacrifice. He then beheld Mahādeva and his spouse Umā with the eye of contemplation and ascertaining by means of his Yogic power, what was about to happen, became highly gratified. Finding that all the deities had adopted a common resolution that they would not invite Śiva, Dadhīci came out from the sacrificial ground and announced that he had realised that Maheśvara would come soon to the sacrifice of Dakṣa. Dakṣa replied that he had eleven Rudras armed with lances and bearing matted locks on their heads, but he did not know who that Maheśvara was. Dadhīci said that he understood that due to the plan of the gods Mahādeva had not been invited at the sacrifice, but as he thought Śaṅkara to be supreme of all gods, he was sure that the sacrifice of Dakṣa would certainly be destroyed. Dakṣa replied that according to him Viṣṇu was the foremost amongst all the gods so he preferred to offer oblations to Viṣṇu.

Meanwhile Umā, the spouse of Śiva who was sitting beside her husband on the mountain Kailāśa, enquired of Śiva what endowments, vows or penances she would make or undergo so that her lord might be able to obtain either a full or a half or one third share of the sacrifice. Finding his consort overwhelmed with grief Śiva consoled her by

saying that it was through her power of illusion that the gods and the three worlds failed to recognise what he really was. Further, to impress her with his superiority over the gods Śiva told her that it was to him that the chanters utter their praises in sacrifices, it was to him that the Sāman-singers sing their Rathantaras, it was to him that the Brāhmaṇas perform their sacrifices, and it was to him that the Adhvaryu-priests dedicate the shares of sacrificial offerings. But Umā not pleased to hear the praises which Śiva bestowed on himself and not caring to give any importance to his greatness, said that even a common man would like to magnify himself in an assembly of women. Śiva answered that he did not applaud his own self for nothing but would show her how great he was. Thus saying he created from his mouth a dreadful being named Vīrabhadra and commanded him to destroy the sacrifice of Dakṣa. When Vīrabhadra proceeded towards the Sacrifice, Umā, being goaded by her wrath, assumed the form of a dreadful female named Mahākālī and followed him to the sacrifice. Vīrabhadra created from the pores of his body a large number of terrible Gaṇas known as Raumyas and with their help began to destroy the Sacrifice. They burnt the sacrifice and tore off its head beholding which Brahmā and the other gods approached Vīrabhadra with folded palms and enquired who he was. After telling who he was and why he came to destroy the Sacrifice Vīrabhadra advised Dakṣa to seek protection of Mahādeva. Dakṣa followed his advice and began to offer prayers to Śiva. Being pleased with his prayers Śiva appeared before him and declared that all that Dakṣa did for the sacrifice would not go in vain.

Thus, we see that there are two different ways of presenting the story of the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice.

According to the first presentation Śiva himself destroys the sacrifice and pierces with his arrow the Sacrifice which assumes the form of a deer. The second presentation, on the other hand, adds the discussion between Dadhīci and Dakṣa to the story and informs that Dakṣa's sacrifice was destroyed by Vīrabhadra and Mahākālī or Bhadrakālī who were born of the anger of Śiva and Umā respectively. The brief versions of the story as narrated in the Droṇa, Sauptika and Anuśāsana-parvan of the *Mahābhārata* follow the first presentation. It is possible that *Jvara* of the first version of the story and Vīrabhadra of the second are the same.

The *Rāmāyaṇa*[13] which mentions the story in brief follows the first presentation.

This story is narrated in detail in the purāṇas such as *Vāyu*,[14] *Bhāgavata*,[15] *Brahmāṇḍa*,[16] *Brahma*,[17] *Vāmana*,[18]

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13. *Rāmāyaṇa* (ed. G. H. Bhatt, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1960 1965), 1.65. 9-12; (ed. Calcutta Sanskrit Series, Baṅgābda 1338-1349) 3.30.38, 72.2; 6.54.33.

14. *Vāyu-p*. (Baṅgavāsī ed., Calcutta, Baṅgābda, 1317), 30. 40-76 72-299.

15. *Bhāgavata-p*. (Nimbarkasrama Press, ed., Calcutta, Baṅgābda, 1344-1349), 4 chs. 1-7.

16. *Brahmāṇḍa-p*, (Baṅg. ed., Calcutta, 190), *Prakriyāpāda*, 31.41-74, 80-302.

17. *Brahma-p*. (Baṅ. ed., Calcutta, Baṅgābda, 1316), 34. 1-44; 109. 3-30.

18. *Vāmana-p*., (Baṅg. ed., Calcutta, Baṅgābda, 1314), chs. 4-5.

Padma,[19] *Śiva*,[20] *Varāha*,[21] *Kūrma*,[22] *Liṅga*,[23] *Kālikā*,[24] *Saura*,[25] *Mahābhāgavata*,[26] and *Bṛhaddharma*,[27] and briefly in the *Matsya*,[28] *Brahmavaivarta*,[29] *Skanda*[30] and *Devī-bhāgavata*.[31] The langnage of the story in the *Vāyu*, *Brhmāṇḍa*, *Brahma* and the *Śiva-p*. is almost the same as that in the *Mahābhārata*.[32] But in the first two purāṇas the language of the two versions of the story as stated in the *Mahābhārata* are mingled into one.

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19. *Padma-p*. (Baṅga ed., Calcutta, Baṅgābda, 1322-1326), Sṛṣṭi-kh. 3,204; 5. 1-95.
20. *Śiva-p*. (Venktesvara Press, ed., Bombay, Śakābda, 1847) *Rudra-saṃhitā*, *Sṛṣṭi-kh*., 16. 34-41; *satī-kh*., 1. 1-42; chs. 10-12, 14-43, *Śatarudra-saṃhita*, 1. chs. 18-23.
21; *Varāha p*. (Venkt. ed,, Bombay, Śakābda- 1845), 21. 1-90).
22. *Kūrma-p*. (Baṅga. ed., second ed., Calcutta, Baṅgābda 1332), 1.11. 6-12, 14. 53-8, 15. 4-92.
23. *Liṅga-p*. (Venkt, ed., Bombay, Śakābda. 1846), 1-5-27-33, 6. 10-11, 70.27, 99, 10-20, 100. 1-51·
24. *Kālikā-p*. (Baṅg. ed., Calcutta, 1910), chs. 16-18.
25. *Saura-p*. (Baṅg. ed., second ed., Calcutta, Baṅgābda, (1316), 7.9-60.
26. *Mahābhāgavata-p*. (Baṅg. ed., Calcutta, Baṅgābda 1321), chs. 4-6.
27. *Bṛhaddharma-p*., (Baṅg. ed., second ed., Calcutta: Baṅgābda, 1314), 2, chs, 3-8.
28. *Matsya-p*. (Baṅg. ed., Calcutta, Baṅgābda, 1316) 60. 10-11.
29. *Brahmavaivarta-p*. (Baṅg. ed.,, Calcutta, Śakābda, 1827) *Brahma-kh*., 9. 7-8, 15. *Prakṛti-kh*., 1- 148-9; *Srīkṛṣṇa-Janma-kh*., 38, 3-10; 41. 79-94; 43. 1-105.
30. *Skanda-p*. (Baṅg. ed., Calcutta, 1912), *Nāgara-kh*., 245. 5-8.
31. *Devī-bhāgavata-p*., (Baṅg. ed., second ed., Calcutta, Śakābda 1832)i 7.30, 1950.
32. *Mbh*., 12. 274. 5-20 is almost the same as *Vāyu-p*-, 30. 81-96; *Brahmāṇḍa-p*. *Prakriyāpāda*, 31. 82-97.

The purāṇas that follow the first version of the story are *Vāmana*,[33] *Varāha* and *Kālikā*. The second version of the story on the other hand, was followed by the *Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Bhāgavata, Kūrma, Brahma, Śiva, Liṅga, Padma*,[34] *Saura, Mahābhāgavata* and *Bṛhaddharma-p*. There exists a close similarity between the story as narrated in the *Mahābhāgavata* and the *Bṛahddharma-p.* But in the *Bṛhaddharma-p.* Śiva himself took the name of Vīrabhadra and, being the leader of all the Rudras, caused destruction of the sacrifce.[35]

There occur some variations in the narrations of the story in the different purāṇas. For example, the *Vāyu-p.*, (30.122) and the *Brahmāṇḍa*[36] state that Vīrabhadra was generated from Śiva's mouth. The *Bhāgavata*[37] and the *Śiva-p.*[38], on the other hand, inform us that Vīrabhadra came out from the matted locks of Śiva which he threw, out of rage, on the ground. According to the *Vāmana-p.* (4.17) Vīrabhadra was produced from a hair of Śiva's body. The *Mahābhāgavata-p.*, (10.10) states that Vīrabhadra issued forth from the third eye of Śiva. The *Vāyu-p.*[39] and *Brahmāṇḍa-*

33. The *Vāmana-p.*, states that at first Vīrabhadra was generated by Śiva from the hair of his body, but when the former was defeated by Viṣṇu the latter arrived at the sacrificial ground and destroyed the sacrifice.

34. The *Padma-p.* however, does not mention directly that *Dakṣa's* sacrifice, was destroyed by Vīrabhadra, but it states that by the order of Śiva a large number of Bhūtas, Pretas, Grahas, Vināyakas and Pramathas ruined the sacrifice.

35. *Bṛhaddharma-p.* 2. 8.50.

36. *Brahmāṇḍa-p. Prakriyāpāda*, 31. 123.

37. *Bhāgavat-p.* 4.5. 23.

38. *Śiva-p. Rudra-saṃhitā, Satī-kh.*, 32.22-25.

39. *Vāyu-p.* 30. 156-859.

p.[40] narrates that the sacrifice was beheaded by the followers of Śiva, and Vīrabhadra cut the head of Dakṣa, the lord of the sacrifice ('Yajñapati') when it began to flee through the sky in the form of a deer. This episode of the cutting of the head of Dakṣa by Vīrabhadra is narrated in several other purāṇas such as *Bhāgavata,*[41] *Śiva,*[42] *Liṅga,*[43] *Mahābhāgavata*[44] and *Bṛhaddharma.*[45] But these purāṇas add that at the request of the gods Śiva made Dakṣa alive by fixing on his neck the head of a goat. This episode is not to be found in the epics. It is an addition to the story narrated in the purāṇas.

Another important episode, which is absent in the epics but is found in the purāṇas in connection with the story of the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice, is the episode of the marriage of Satī, the daughter of Dakṣa with Śiva and her suicide due to the insult to her husband by her father. In the *Mahābhārata*[46] we find that it was Umā who enquired of Mahādeva why he was not invited by Dakṣa to attend the sacrifice arranged by him. But in the said epic, Umā is not mentioned as the daughter of Dakṣa. In the purāṇas, on the other hand, this question was put to Mahādeva by Satī. It might be that the germ of this episode remained in the *Mahābhārata,* and in later period, it was developed into a story of Satī's marriage with Śiva and her suicide for

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40. *Brahmāṇḍa-p. Prakriyāpāda*, 31.156-9.

41. *Bhāgavata-p.* 4.5.24.

42. *Śiva-p; Vāyavīya-saṃhitā*, 1.21.2.

43. *Liṅga-p.* 1.100.34-5.

44. *Mahābhāgavata-p.* 10- 65-6.

45. *Bṛhaddharma-p.* 2.7. 16-20, 8.50.

46. *Mbh.*, 2.274.22.

causing destruction to that sacrifice of Dakṣa, who gave Śiva no share of the sacrifice. The episode of Satī is narrated in detail in the purāṇas already mentioned. The *Matsya-p.*[47] simply informs us that Satī was married to Śiva by Dakṣa; probably the version of the episode as it exists in the *Vāyu-p.*, is the oldest one and the poets[48] of the Sanskrit Kāvyas, who have utilised the episode in their works might have drawn the same from the earliest version that existed before them.

In his *Abhijñāna-śākuntala,*[49] while comparing the king Duṣyanta with Śiva, Kālidāsa writes; *Kṛṣṇasāre dadaccakṣustvayi Cādhijyakārmuke/Mṛgānusāriṇaṃ sākṣāt paśyāmiva pinākinaṃ* which when translated, means "Casting my eye on the black and spotted antelope and on you whose bow is strung, I behold, as it were the holder of the *Pināka* in person, chasing the deer."[50] The same idea is reflected again in his *Raghuvaṃśa*[51] when he writes :

Tat prasuptabhujagendrabhūṣaṇam
vīkṣya dāśarathirādade dhanuḥ
vidrutakratumṛgānusāriṇaṃ
yena bāṇamasṛjadvṛṣadhvajaḥ

The *Mahābhārata* also wtites :

Tataḥ sa yajño nṛpate vadhyamānaḥ samantataḥ
āsthāya mṛgarūpaṃ vai khamevābhyapatattadā

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47. *Matsya-p.* op. cit.
48. *Kumārasaṃbhava, op. cit;* Prakriyāpāda, *op. cit., Naiṣadhacarita,* 4.45.
49. *Abhijñāna-śākuntala., 1.6*
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Raghuvaṃ'a 11 44*

taṃ tu yajñaṃ tathārūpaṃ gacchantamupalabhya saḥ
dhanurādāya bāṇam ca tadānvasarata prabhuḥ[52]

Here we find there occurs a similarity in the language between Kālidāsa's verses and the verse contained in the *Mahābhārata*. There are also several Purāṇas[53] which, in the course of describing the incident of Śiva's pursuing the deer-shaped Sacrifice, use almost the same idea as that of the *Mahābhārata*. This shows that the purāṇas undoubtedly drew the story from the *Mahābhārata* and as the earliest version of the story exists in the *Mahābhārata,* it is possible that Kālidāsa also came to know the story from it. Again, as Kālidāsa and the poets of the Sanskrit Kāvyas posterior to him, while mentioning this story in their works, do not state the names or the acts of Vīrabhadra and Bhadrakālī as narrated in the second version of the story of the *Mahābhārata*. In his *Śiśupālavadha* 17.7. Māgha writes :

Prajāpatikratunidhanārthamutthitaṃ
Vyatarkayajjvaramiva raudramuddhataṃ
Samudyataṃ sapadi vadhāya vidviṣām
atikrudhaṃ niṣadhaṃ naiṣadhaṃ janaḥ.

The fact of *Jvara*'s advent from Rudra as mentioned in this verse also shows that Māgha had utilised the story of Dakṣayajñanāśa from its first version as narrated in the *Mahābhārata,* Śānti-parvan. But Śrīharṣa, the author of the *Naiṣadhacarita,* most probably drew the story of the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice from the purāṇas and not from the *Mahābhārata*. As he has mentioned the story of the change of the deer-shaped Sacrifice into a star it seems

52. *Mbh* , 2.274.34-5.

53. *Vāmana-p.*, 5.26-7; *Kālikā-p.*, 17.50-1.

that he followed the purāṇic version of the story and not the epic one; because, purāṇas state that when Śiva pierced with his arrow the Sacrifice, which was fleeing through the sky in the form of a deer, it became a star and remained in the sky. The *Mahābhārata* of course states that Siva pursued the deershaped Sacrifice in the sky, but does not say that it became a star after being pierced with Siva's arrow. There is no doubt that as regards the story of the conversion of the[54] deer-shaped sacrifice into a star the purāṇas are indebted to the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* where it has been said that when Rudra pierced the deer-shaped Prajāpati or the sacrifice with his arrow he became the Mṛgaśirā Nakṣatra in the sky. But as this story is found to be elaborated in the purāṇas, it seems that Śrīharṣa, a poet of the twelfth century A. D., was more familiar with its purāṇic version than its Vedic one. The germ of the story of Dakṣayajñanāśa can be traced in the *Ṛgveda* (10.61.5-7) and in the Brāhmaṇas such as *Śatapatha*,[55] *Aitareya*,[56] *Pañcaviṃśa*[57] (*or Tāṇḍya-mahābrāhmaṇa*), and *Gopatha*.[58] The story found in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* stated that once Prajāpati, who was identified with Yajña or Sacrifice, committed incest with his daughter the sky

54. *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*-(ed. Satyavrata Samasrami, Calcutta, 1895-1897), 3.3.9.

55. *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa*-(ed. A. Weber, Varanasi, 1964), 1.7.4. 1-8; 2.1.2. 8-9.

56. *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa.*, *op. cit.*

57. *Tāṇḍya-mahābrāhmaṇa* (ed. A. Chinnaswami Shastri, and Pattabhirama Shastri, Benares, 1935-1936), 8.2.10.

58. *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa* (ed. *Dieuke Gaastra*, Lieden, 1919,, 2.1.2.

(Dyaus) or the Dawn (Uṣas). Being unable to tolerate this sin of their father the gods approached Rudra and requested him to pierce Prajāpati with arrow. When Rudra discharged his shaft towards Prajāpati, his germinal fluid ('retas') fell upon the earth. As Prajāpati represented sacrifice and as no part of his body could be thrown away without being utilised in the performance of sacrifice, the gods first took the Retas to Bhaga, who sat on the southern side of the sacrificial grounds. As soon as Bhaga looked at the Retas, his eyes were burned. The gods then took it to Pūṣan who, on tasting it, lost his teeth. The *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa* follows the story of the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. The Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa* (2-1.2), on the otherhand, states that Prajāpati, while performing a sacrifice, did not offer the requisite share of offerings so Rudra who then, piercing the Sacrifice, cut off a portion of it. A look at it made Bhaga blind and Pūṣan toothless. In the story as narrated in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* we find that in order to outrage his daughter Prajāpati assumed the form of a Ṛṣya i. e. a male deer. Thus, we see that in the Brāhmaṇas, Prajāpati is identified with sacrifice (Yajña) and took the form of a deer. It is possible that in later periods in the epics and the purāṇas this idea of Rudra's piercing of Prajāpati i. e. the Sacrifice with arrow, who had changed himself into a deer for outraging his daughter, was developed in the form of the story of the destruction of the sacrifice of Dakṣa Prajāpati. D. C. Sircar's opinion is quite logical when he says that "the story of Dakṣayajñanāśa evolved out of the old legend about Prajāpati, found in the Brāhmaṇas, is proved by the fact that the purāṇic account of the destruction of Dakṣa Prajāpati's sacrifice often refers to the blinding of Bhaga's eyes and the breaking of Pūṣan's (or Sūrya's) teeth, incidents pointedly mentioned in the

Brāhmaṇas."[59] Moreover, the *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa* states that Rudra pierced Yajña and cut off a portion of it because Prajāpati did not offer Rudra the requisite share in the sacrifice. This is also an incident specifically mentioned in the epics and the purāṇas and becomes the main cause of the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice. Again, in *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* 2.4.4. 1-2 Prajāpati is called as Dakṣa. It can therefore be said from these facts that the Vedic Prajāpati was identified in the Brāhmaṇas with Dakṣa Prajāpati who is stated to be the son of Brahmā in the epics and the purāṇas.

The story of Dakṣayajñanāśa throws a good deal of light on Rudra's being a non-Vedic deity. From the fact that the gods did not give him any share of the sacrifice at first but offerd it to him after his violent acts it can be said that Śiva was originally a non-Vedic deity who later on secured a prominent position in the Brahmanical pantheon. To Gorressio the story of Dakṣayajñanāśa "represents under a mythical veil, the struggle of the ancient forms of

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59. See D.C. Sircar's article entitled "The Śākta Pīṭhas' in *JRASB.*, vol. 14, 1948, p. 6. For the Purāṇic references of the blinding of Bhaga's eyes and the breaking of Pūṣan's teeth see *Bhāgavata* 4.5.20-1; *Kūrma,* 1.5.61; *Vāmana,* 5.18-20; *Brahma,* 109.34-5; *Liṅga,* 1.100.16-7; *Varāha.*, 21-46-8; *Śiva.*, *Rudra-saṃhitā, satī-kh.*, 37.54-5; *Vāyavīya-Saṃhitā,* 1.21. 19-20; *Kālikā.*, 17. 43-8; *Bṛhaddharma.*, 2.8.51. In the classical Sanskrit Kāvyas, the event of the breaking of Pūṣan's teeth is mentioned in the *Harṣacarita,* ch. 3., p. 47, p. 10.

worship."[60] According to him, Siva, who was a deity of "the Cushita or Hamite tribes, which preceded the Arian or Indo-Sanskrit races, wished to participate in the new worship and sacrifices of the conquerors, from which he was excluded; and by disturbing their rites, and committing acts of violence at their sacrifices, succeeded in being admitted to share in them".[61]

60. *Original Sanskrit Text.*, vol. 2., p. 420, fn. 127.

61. *Ibid.*

ANIRVACANATĀVĀDA OF ŚRĪHARṢA

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To Śrī Harṣa, the objective world has no existence, hence it cannot be explained by words, that is, it is inexpressible. Words, on the other hand, have nothing to denote. Word and sense are interdependent. Thus even Pramāṇas, admitted generally by all the systems of thought prove to be useless. The main aim of Śrī Harṣa is to prove the objective reality of the world as baseless.

The monistic school of *Vedānta* is based on the *śruti* passages which declare Brahman as the only Reality. The world of sentient and insentinct beings, which are other than Brahman, is therefore unreal. The leading exponents of Advaita seek therefore to prove the nature of Brahman and the illusonry ature of non-Brahman. Though unreal, non-Brahman, which becomes the object of worldly experience, require to be studined in its essential features, in order to show that it is other than Brahman and therefore does ot have existence. When this is doen, understanding Brahman's anture becomes easy.

The pluralistic school of *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* maintain an elaborate system of studying the world of sentient and insentient beings. The development of these two systems has been a detailed one on the epistemological, ontological and theological planes. The art of debate has a singular

contribution in this regard, comparable only to that made by the Buddhists.

It is the debate that plays, as a weapon, a prominent role among the disputants of the various schools of thought while determining their system as the correct one through thorough refutation of the doctrines held by the school other than theirs. Among the six kinds constituting the debate, namely, *vāda*, *jalpa*, *vitaṇḍā chala*, *jāti* and *nigrasthāna*, it is only *vāda* that is taken up for knowing reality and its aspects. There is no room for the other five here. Neither the pluralist nor monist is interested in knowing or learning the position of his rival. He is aware of his opponents' views and so eager as to adopt any one or more of these five kinds whichever he finds useful for a victory over the rival. Hence in most of the polemical treatise, the author displays his skill in controverting the theories of his rival by employing one or more among these five kinds.

There is an important aspect which shall not be missed while surveying the contents of a polemical treatise. While many authors of treatise exibit their tolerance for the views which their rivals hold, though not admitted by them and therefore state their views after refuting the *primafacie* view, some authors adopt mostly the destructive argument (*vitaṇḍā*). They devote much of their attention in offering a trenchant refutation of the rival's views. Their own principles get, in their view, eventually established.

Jayarāśibhaṭṭa (8th century A. D.) was perhaps the earliest writer to adopt the aforesaid method and produce the work *Tattvopaplavasiṃha*. As the name indicates, this is a masterpiece demonstrating how reality or realities could

be assaulted and afflicted (refuted) through arguments. The author does not determine any theory as his *siddhānta*. His attempt shows how one can employ the destructive argument successfully to refute reality as such.

If everything could be baseless, it would bring no credit to the person who uses the destructive argument. There must be some kind of doctrine dear to him which gets established when his opponents' arguments are silenced through the destructive argument. Some of the leading exponents of the monistic school took the cue from Jayarāśibhaṭṭa's work and compiled works of polemical nature. They were bent upon establishing monism through demonstrating that the world does not exist. Among them, Śrīharṣa was the earliest writer to adopt this method. Among others, who were influenced by him mention must be made of Ānandajñāna, who wrote his *Tarkasaṃgraha* adversely criticising the concepts and doctrines of the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* schools. The works of these two writers abound in the employment of the five kinds of debate, particularly *vitaṇḍā*, with the monistic doctrine getting meagre treatment. There did not arise any need for the latter's establishment, as it follows as a corollary to the refutation of pluralism.

A principle, that is recognized and admitted in a general way by all systems of thought, is that the *pramāṇas* play a very important role and only through admitting them the knowables could be established.[1] When there is nothing to be known as having objective existence, where is the need for *pramāṇa* ? There is need neither

1. *Mānādhīnā meyasiddhiḥ.*

for recognizing a scheme for *pramāṇas* nor a hierarchy, so to say, of the knowables. Do not the materialists and nihilists enter into a debate without any concern for any such scheme ?[2] Other schools of thought have recognized these two as worthy of becoming participants in debates. Discussions could start without reference to the existence or otherwise of the knowables.[3] Interdependence will be the defect, if both *pramāṇa* and *prameya* are insisted for acceptance before entering into a discussion. Which, among the two, should be admitted at first poses a problem. The knowables should exist before *pramāṇa* operates to prove their existence. Their existence could not be admitted until they are proved to be so through *pramāṇa*.

The second point, worthy of note here, is that Brahman alone is real and sentient. Non-Brahman is unreal and insentient. It will be sheer imprudence to chub the inert matter with the sentient Brahman for a study and understanding of reality.[4] A study of this kind of undertaking is sure to be a futile exercise.

If any one seeks to interpret non-Brahman by framing definitions and offering illustrations, he may attempt at this but he is sure to find himself in a mess of contradictions. Inaccuracies and defects are certain to abound in

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2. Vide : *Tadanabhyupagacchato'pi cārvākamādhyamikāderv̄āgvistarāṇām pratīyamānatvāt. Khaṇḍana Khaṇḍakhādya*, with Ānandapūrṇa's Vidyāsāgarī, Chaukhambha edn., 1914, p. 15.

3. *Ibid* : *Avicāryaiva tāvattasya sadasattvam vicāra ārabdhavyaḥ* p. 76.

4. *Ibid* : *Prakāśātmatāmātrasyaiva svataḥsiddhisambhave jaḍātmanām dharmāṇām keṣāmapi tadantarbhāvānupapattiḥ*.p. 97.

the reasonings which he could be required to advance for maintaining his stand.[5]

The aim of the monist is to reject the objective existence of the world. It is therefore natural for him to reject even the admission of *pramāṇa*. All the epistemological aspects of the *Nyāya* system is, therefore, proved to be baseless. The ontological thesis of the *Vaiśeṣika* system is then rejected levelling adverse criticism against the definition and concept of all the categories and also of the relation of cause and effect. In the opinion of Śrīharṣa, the world is illusory[6] and so what all is held to belong to the world is illusory, whether actual or conceptual, are the aspects of it as admitted by the realists. His stand is that arguments can proceed without any preconceived notion of *pramāṇa* and *prameya*.[7]

He states at the outset that he is dissuading himself from proving the existence of the world. Brahman, which is sentient, is self-established. He is therefore happy leading a successful living pinning his faith on the attributeless reality, Brahman.[8]

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5. *Ibid* : *Yastu vādī niruktyabhimānam dhatte sa nirvaktu*, na tu *Śakṣyati, vaktavyadoṣāt*. p. 128.

6. *Ibid* : *Tadevam bhedaprapañco' nirvacanīyaḥ brahmaiva tu param paramārthasadvayamiti sthitam*. p. 137.

7. *Ibid* : *Na brūmo vayaṃ na santi pramāṇādīnīti svīkṛtya kathārabhyeti. Kinnāma santi na santi vā pramāṇādīnītyasyām cintāyāmudāsīnaiḥ, yathā svīkṛtya tāni bhavatā vyavahṛyate tathā, vyavahāribhireva kathā pravartyatāmiti*. p. 20.

8. *Ibid* : *Vastutastu vayaṃ prapañcasattvavyavasthāpanavinivṛttāḥ svataḥsiddhe cidātmani brahmatattve kevale bharamavalambya caritārthāḥ sukhamāsmahe* p. 131.

What then is Śrīharṣa's attitude to Reality ? The answer is that he could not explain Reality. He calls it as *anirvacanīya.*[9] It means that attempts could be made to interpret or explain but it is found, from experience, that it is utterly impossible to explain it even for one's own satisfaction. Another word, which he uses in this context, is *anirvacana*, which means that there is no explanation or interpretation to attempt, for words or expressions, which are required for this purpose, are totally inadequate to play their role. There is not much difference between the two.

An attempt could be made to find out what these two words mean or convey. Word and its sense have mutual relationship. Similarly, there cannot be any object that is not nameable by a word. A word must have an object which it could denote. Curiously enough, the monistic school has to take part in discussions violating this principle. The objective world does not have existence. It cannot be denoted by any word. The words, on their turn, have nothing to denote. So both word and sense or an object do not serve any purpose. Arguing for analytical and syntactic study of these would lead us no where. The admission of this position is called *Anirvacanatā*, that is, inexpressibility. To try to explain and fail to do so means the impossibility of explaining it. This is *Anirvacanīyatā*[10].

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9. *Ibid* : *Śabdārthanirvacanakhaṇḍanayā nayantaḥ/sarvatra nirvacanabhāvamakharvagarvān/dhīrāḥ yathoktamapi kīravadetaduktvā/lokeṣu digvijayakautukamātanudhvam.* p. 9.

10. Ānandapūrṇa explains the word nirvacana thus :—*lakṣye lakṣaṇe ca nirvacanabhāvam nirgatam vacanam yebhyaste nirvacanāstadbhāvo* mūkatvam p. 10 cf. *nirvacanabhāvam mūkatvam* : Śaṃkaramiśra's Ṭīkā, Reprint from the *Paṇḍit*, 1977), p. 5.

The monist school bases its theory on the passages of the *upaniṣads*. Yet, for arguments, the art of debate is required to be used. Śrīharṣa thus makes full use of the five kinds of debate. Yet, he is bent upon smashing the theories of the pluralists. So, he takes up their concepts and advances destructive arguments to prove the hollowness of the claims of the pluralists. He has nothing to establish. When objective reality is proved to be baseless, it follows that the objective world does not exist at all.

Anirvacanavāda is different from *Anirvacanīyakhyāti*, the theory of error of the monistic school. The latter is a corollary of the former. The word *sadasadvilakṣaṇa*, which is normally used to explain the word *anirvacanīya*, brings out clearly why and how definite predications like 'yes' (*sad*) and 'no' (*asad*) are not available.

The work *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya* of Śrīharṣa has the significance that the author's intention, in writing this work, was not for establishing the illusory nature of the world and through that the nature of Brahman. The noteworthy scholars of Nyāya like Jayanta, Trilocana, Vācaspatimiśra, Udayana and others did win a decisive battle against the Buddhists by establishing the objective reality of world on solid foundations. It is not clear whether there is any truth in the victory which Udayana, is said to have scored over Hīra, father of Śrīharṣa, for which the latter wrought vengeance on Udayana by writing this work. Yet, Śrīharṣa should have apprehended that dualism and pluralism, buttressed with the arguments of the Nyāya stalwarts mentioned above, would, surely, if not effectively arrested, reduce monism to an insignificance. Hence he had to write this work to counter Nyāya realism.

The nihilist school bases its theory on the [illegible] of the [illegible]. Yet, for argumentation, the art of debate is required to be used. Śrīharṣa therefore makes full use of the [illegible] kinds of [illegible] he is bent upon [illegible] the [illegible]. So he takes up their concepts and categories [illegible] arguments to prove the hollowness of the [illegible] naturalists. He has nothing to establish. When the [illegible] is proved to be baseless, it follows that the [illegible] world does not exist at all.

[illegible] is different from *Anirvacanīyatā*, the theory of [illegible] the nihilistic schools. The latter is a corollary of [illegible]. The word *anirvacanīyatā* which is normally used to explain the word *anirvacanīya*, brings out clearly why and how definite specifications like [illegible] and [illegible] are not applicable.

The work *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya* of Śrīharṣa has the significance that the author's intention in writing this work was not to establish the illusory nature of the world and [illegible] the nature of Brahman. The [illegible] scholars of Nyāya [illegible] Vācaspatimiśra, Udayana and others did win a decisive battle against the Buddhists to establish the objective reality of the world [illegible]. It is not [illegible] whether there is any truth in the victory which Udayana is said to have scored over [illegible] of Śrīharṣa, for which the latter [illegible] Udayana by writing this work. Yet, Śrīharṣa should have [illegible] that [illegible] and [illegible] with the [illegible] of the Nyāya [illegible] effectively [illegible]. Hence he had to [illegible] this work to [illegible] position.

THE LEGEND OF THE DWARF-INCARNATION OF VIṢṆU

HISTORY OF ITS DEVELOPMENT

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Following is the resumé of the author's study of the legend of the Dwarf-Incarnation (Vāmana-Avatāra) of Viṣṇu published in German under the title "*Der Ursprung und die Entwicklung der Vāmana-Legende in der indischen Literatur*" by Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden (1968). The purpose of this paper is to acquaint the English reading world with the major results of the study. The study clearly shows that the structure, motifs and characters of the legend are constantly modified in the light of the contemporary currents of religious thoughts.

For millions of Hindus Viṣṇu is not *an* important god among several others of Hindu pantheon but God himself, a perfect personal manifestation of the impersonal Absolute. He is the Protector and the Sustainer of the universe and destroys the malicious and noxious elements from the world assuming either a human or an animal shape. (*Gītā* 4. 7, 8). The legends of his ten principal incarnations illustrate this characteristic of his personality beautifully among which the legend of the Dwarf incarnation is the oldest and perhaps the most significant one since it has undergone numerous modifications according to the changing religious needs of the people.

Three important traits of the later Hinduistic character of Viṣṇu are already found in the *Ṛgveda*: He is a friend and helper of mankind (*RV* 1.156.3, 5; 6; 7.100.2), has the capacity of assuming any shape and any form according to his will (*RV* 7.100.6) and he traverses taking three strides or setting his steps at three places. (1.22.17, 18; 1.154.2,3; 1.54.4; 1.155.4 etc.). The purpose of his traversing is to procure more living space for the oppressed mankind (6.49.13; 7.100.4).

One can easily discern the line of gradual development in the conception of traversing. In the oldest strata of the texts Viṣṇu traverses out the earth in three strides (1.22.17, 1.154.3, 1.155.4.). In the second stage of development he traverses the earth thrice with the same three strides (1.154.1, 6,49.13, 7.100.3). But as traversing the earth *thrice* is not much significant for acquiring land and making room for the human being which is his main deed in the *Ṛgveda*, his three strides are brought into connection with the threefold division of the Vedic cosmography—though this association is not fully accomplished before the Brāhmaṇas—and the traversing is transferred to the vertical sphere (1.22.20; 1.22.21; 1.154.6; 1.155.8; 1.153.5; 5.87.4; 7.99.1; 7.100.5; 8.29.7). Viṣṇu in the course of development assimilates, still in the *Ṛgveda*, two important traits of Indra's character: propping up of heaven (Cf. 5.29.4; 6.44.24; 10.44.8 for Indra and *RV* 1.154.1, 7.99.3 for Viṣṇu) and widening of the earth, (Indrā-Viṣṇū 7·99.4, 6.69.5 and 7.100.4 Viṣṇu) since these two charcteristics are closely connected with his own activity of providing land. Viṣṇu and Indra thus come to have closer relations and develop themselves together. Viṣṇu becomes a 'faithful' friend of Indra and receives a definite rôle in the Vṛtra-myth namely of

fetching the possessions of the dead enemy (4.18.11; 8.100.12; 8.77.10; 1.61.7).

But already in the Brāhmaṇas Viṣṇu becomes much more important than Indra and emerges as the main figure in the battle between the gods and the demons. Together with Indra or the gods he goes disguised as a dwarf to the demons who are in possession of all the three worlds. Indra moves the demons to agree upon granting Viṣṇu so much land as he could cover with his three strides and Viṣṇu traverses all the three worlds with three strides (*AB* 28.7, *MS* 3.7.9, *ŚB* 1.2.5.1-7). This dwarf stature of Viṣṇu is a natural development of an older notion of the *Ṛgveda* according to which Viṣṇu could occasionally assume an extremely gigantic form.

The three worlds are constantly connected with the three strides of Viṣṇu in the Brāhmaṇas. In the *Taittirīya* and *Aitareya Brāhmaṇas* the act of traversing is even more magnified. Viṣṇu traverses with the first stride all the three worlds and with the second and the third ones, the Vedas and the Vāk respectively. This peculiar development is very typical to this sort of ritual literature where the main stress of the religious activities is always on the sacrifice. Besides Viṣṇu is often identified with the sacrifice itself in the Brāhmaṇas and the Trivikrama myth of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is modelled according to this new concept. The demons promise the gods only so much land as the dwarf would cover with the extent of his body. But the gods encircle with different sacrificial fires and the sacrifice-Viṣṇu grows to such a magnitude that he ultimately encompasses the whole earth, a fact which allegorically denotes simply the power of sacrifice ruling the world.

In the epics the gods and the demons become more individual and attain more distinct personalities. The 'demons' of the Brāhmaṇas are therefore substituted here with a *particular* mighty demon. This demon is normally called Bali except in two versions found in *Padma* and *Viṣṇudharmottara* Purāṇas. The Vāmana Legend of the narrative literature has thus two main ramifications—Bali Version and Vāṣkali Version respectively. It seems that Bali and Vāṣkali are no fantacy names. Both demons have had their separate identity in the mythology of the older times before they were gradually introduced in the Trivikrama Myth of the Brāhmaṇas leading to the development of the 'Vāmana Legend' of the Purāṇas.

Bali is mentioned by Pāṇini. It is therefore evident that he was well known in the 5th century B. C., *Mahābhārata* contains two completely different aspects of his character. He also leads an independent existence and is not compulsarily and solely connected with the Vāmana Legend as is the case with him in the Purāṇas. We get the following picture of his personality if we take into account the various references to him scattered throughout the great epic. He had got hold of a great empire through the grace of the Brāhmaṇas. But after some time he became arrogant and insulted them. Besides, he asked his subject to worship him in place of gods. Through this transgression he lost his grandeur and might. He was defeated in a battle by Indra whereupon he was fettered with the nooses of Varuṇa, thrown in a mountain cave and was even deprived of his wife. Another passage lets him wander in the shape of a donkey and wait for better days. In some philosophical discourses of the epic the importance of Time (*kāla*) and Destiny (*prārabdha*) is put into the mouth of Bali.

When the Paurāṇikas needed a demon for their Vāmana Legend who should have lost all of his possessions, nay the whole of his world-empire, they looked back, caught hold of Bali, remodelled his character and adapted it to their needs. Why only Bali and not any other demon like Vṛtra was suitable for such a job, has two reasons. Firstly unlike Vṛtra and Namuci he had been a great ruler, a king in the ancient times. And secondly as he had not been mentioned in the foregoing Vedic literature his character and personality was not more or less fixed as was the case with these demons. Besides he must have lost much of his demonical traits due to the wisdom shown in the philosophical discourses of *Mahābhārata*.

Among the important novelties of *Mahābhārata*-I version (Śānti 326.74-6) one could mention the following points: Viṣṇu is born of Aditi since he was grouped under the Ādityas already in the Brāhmaṇas and he belongs to the caste of the Brāhmaṇas. Bali is depicted as being fettered by Viṣṇu which is a reminiscence of his older personality; he is banished to the underworld; the Creator God Brahman provides that the virtue (*puṇya*) of the sacrificial rites not carried out in accordance with the sacred rules laid down in the Vedas would go to Bali.

In the *Mabhāhārata-II* Version (Vana 272.61 to 69) the dwarf-Viṣṇu goes in company of Bṛhaspati to the place of sacrifice of Bali. In the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (identical with the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa)* Indra was his companion who has been very appropriately substituted here with Bṛhaspati, the priest and guru of the gods and the patron-saint of the Brāhmaṇas. Besides, this version mentions a 'divine' and 'marvellous' form of Viṣṇu which later on develops itself into the 'Viśvarūpa' of Viṣṇu.

The stage of development as reflected in the version contained in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is in almost all its main features practically identical with *Mahābhārata*-I. The passage is very loosely connected with the main current of the story with a small frame-story and is certainly a later interpolation in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The text of the *Purāṇapañcalakṣaṇa* as edited by Kirfel containining much of the oldest kernal of the existing Purāṇas includes a version of our legend which should be placed in the very beginning of all Purāṇic versions. Bali is still a dangerous demon who must be brought under controll for the benefit of the world. Prahlāda, the grandfather of Bali and the greatest devotee of Viṣṇu afterwards, is also depicted here as a demon who attacks Viṣṇu and is repelled by him. Whole of the world is explicitly identified with Viṣṇu for the first time in this version. Bali is fettered with all his kinsmen but released afterwards and sent to the underworld (*Brahmāṇḍa* II.73.75-86, *Vāyu* 98.75-87).

The further development of the Vāmana Legend of the above version is found in the *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* (Adhy. 3.48-72) which contains two versions—of which one is very long—and the other is curtailed out of it. The long version consists of several independent pieces interpolated from time to time. *Harivaṃśa* shows a considerable advancement towards the 'de-demonisation' of Bali. Though not yet an acknowledged Viṣṇubhakta, he is depicted as having a noble character with no or very little demonic traits. As such he is not actually fettered by Viṣṇu although the bondage is hinted at as a possibility and sent to Sutala world where he enjoys abundant pleasures. The 'viśvarūpa' of Viṣṇu has been worked out in full detail.

The story as found in *Harivaṃśa* receives beautiful elaboration in the light of the growing influence of Bhakti movement in the *Matsya*, (Adhy. 244-246), *Vāmana* and *Kūrma* Purāṇas. Everything which does not suit the highly devotional atmosphere of the story has been left out, e.g. the description of the fight between the gods and the demons and the destruction of the titans when they launch attack on Viṣṇu while he is traversing. In *Matsya* Prahlāda is depicted as a great devotee of Viṣṇu and Bali, though an arrogant demon at first, is also changed into a great Bhakta of Viṣṇu through a curse and the teachings of Prahlāda. The warning to Bali not to promise the desired measure of land to the dwarf since he is Viṣṇu, is carried out in all these three Purāṇas by Śukra, the family priest of Bali since Prahlāda, a dedicated Viṣṇubhakta is not expected to do it. The warning is given before Viṣṇu arrives at the sacrificial place but since Bali still agrees to fulfil the desire of Viṣṇu knowing well that it will lead to his downfall, his character is much elevated and he is aptly rewarded for it. His Sutala world is even more beautiful than the heaven of Indra and in the next *manvantara* he is promised the post of Indra himself. The development of Bali as a devotee of Viṣṇu is totally accomplished in *Kūrma Purāṇa* to achieve the insurmountable hights in the *Bhāgavata*. In *Kūrma* Bali is depicted as a convinced Bhakta from the very beginning who does not require the teachings of his grandfather to get turned towards Bhakti and as such Viṣṇu grants him the highest that can be achieved by a mortal, the salvation or identification with Viṣṇu after the end of the present kalpa.

The version of the *Kūrma Purāṇa* (Adhy. 17) shows influence of the parallel Vāṣkali-version inasmuch as it

lets the holy river Gaṅgā spring through a hole which is created in the shell of the Brahmāṇḍa, the outer layer of the cosmos by Viṣṇu while traversing the universe. The making of hole is possible only if Viṣṇu traverses vertically as is the case in the version found in the *Padma Purāṇa* (Sṛṣṭi Khaṇḍa, Adhy, 30) where the holy lake Puṣkara, around which this Purāṇa seems to have been compiled, is thus created. Vāṣkali, the demon king of this version seems to have been that particular demon in older mythology who was connected with the Boar Incarnation of Viṣṇu. He is introduced into the Vāmana Legend to account for his agressive attitude towards Viṣṇu when he comes to the underworld to lift the earth. The author of *Bhāgavata* creates another demon Hiraṇyākṣa to compensate for him. The text of the Vāṣkali version shows different layers of development but compared to the Bali-version, from which the former version deviates in many an important point, the nucleus of the story is nearer to the story as narrated in the Brāhmaṇas (esp. *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* and *Taittirīya-Aitareya Brāhmaṇas*. For example, in Vāṣkali-version Viṣṇu is not *born* of Aditi; he simply changes his form and goes together with Indra to the demon and it is Indra who utters request for three steps for Viṣṇu.

The peak of the development of our story is found in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (VIII. 15-23) which beautifully harmonises without exception all the different important traits and aspects of the story found in the previous versions within the framework of intensive Viṣṇu-bhakti and wields them with such a sovereignity that a legend is created which is unmatched in the whole of Purāṇic literature. Bali is made a Viṣṇu-bhakta of highest order, in no way inferior to Prahlāda. He is no more a demon

from whom the kingdom of the heaven and earth should be snatched away for Indra, the legitimate ruler of the world. Nay, since Bali is a dedicated Bhakta and, being the greatest emperor of the world, is exposed to the danger of getting lost in the luxuries offered to him Viṣṇu comes forward to help him. He grants him a favour by taking away eminence and supremacy and sending him to the underworld where he (Viṣṇu) is always present at the entrance of his palace as a dwarf in order to protect him and by granting him, in addition, the salvation after the destruction of the worlds. *Bhāgavata* is also the first Purāṇa to accout for and to explain some traits of the character of Bali--e.g. his bondage even after he has fulfilled the desire of Viṣṇu—which had been simply taken over from his older personality when he was not connected with the Vāmana Legend.

Only minor changes are made in the later versions. At least in Viṣṇuitic Purāṇas the main spirit of the story remains the same. Bali is always depicted as a great devotee of Viṣṇu who readily and willingly presents his kingdom to Viṣṇu and is amply rewarded by him. Interesting are, however, the Śivaitic adaptation of the story found in the Skanda Purāṇa (VII. 2.14-19) which lets Bali gain the kingdom of the universe by the favour of Śiva, whom he has pleased in his previous birth as a gambler while unknowingly strewing a handful of flowers on a Śivaliṅga as he stumbled and fell down. Viṣṇu has to assume the shape of a dwarf because of a curse of Bālakhilyas whom he laughs at. The effect of the curse is warded off only when the Dwarf worships Śiva in Somanātha, a fact chronologically important since it proves that the development of the story concludes

approximately in 1000 A. D. as the temple was destroyed in 1025 A.D.

Thus the course of development of our legend is a nice example of how the myths and stories of hoary past are constantly retold and rewritten in accordance with the religious circumstances of the contemporary society to serve as illustration to many for the better understanding of the tenets of their faith. Viṣṇu of the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas is simply an important god among several others of his type and is keenly interested in taking away the kingdom of the world from the demons for the benefit of the gods even though it might be through a deceptive device. But gradually he develops to the Supreme Principle of the universe which is as much above the gods as above the demons. He is therefore, isnpired to undertake this deed only with a view to the benefit of the world in general and to the need of sustaining the dharma. But as the growing belief in the all-merciful character of Viṣṇu disfavours the idea of God taking away the glory of one of his subjects for the other, Bali, the demon, is gradually transformed into a great Viṣṇu-bhakta under the influence of the 'Bhakti movement and after some time even the aspect of the 'benefit of the world' is lost sight of, to be replaced by the notion that the whole play (*līlā*) was due to nothing but the desire on Viṣṇu's part to grant his great Bhakta the highest favour of salvation.

REVIVALISM IN INDIAN PAINTING AND THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE BENGAL SCHOOL OF ART

By

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Man cannot be isolated from his Society. He receives food for his thought from the environment prevailing in the Society. With this view in the basə, the author presents a critical study of the contribution of the Bengal School of Art.

The question of relationship of art to social life and environment needs serious thought before we sit on judgement on the merits of a particular school of art. Social atmosphere of our country was very much in disarray during the hey day of colonial rule. Aimless tussle of East and the West was sapping at the very root of our cultural existence. And, as B. C. Sanyal has said, art cannot flourish when life is unstable. Our British Sahibs tried, no doubt, to break the aesthetic inertia in our country and established various art schools in different parts of the country. The aim was obvious, and those art schools, though they began with much promise, ended in producing second rate artists and craftsmen trained in imported styles of Victorian era.

Life of contemporary Indian painters had already become quite flotsam. In such an atmosphere, social function of an artist became uncertain and almost unnecessary. Reaction was inevitable and at last it came in the form of 19th Century movements. The wave of nationalism and the spirited enthusiasm for back to Indianness trend ultimately crystallized in the formation of the Bengal School of art. Pioneer of the school was Abanindra Nath Tagore. He and other great eminent Tagores of Jorasanko at Calcutta started a new revivalist movement to restore the lost aesthetic ideals of India. Inspirations also came from such enlightened Westerners as Fergusson,Havell, Percy Brown, Cunningham, Cousins etc. Votaries of the new school had rendezvous with the past. Ajanta frescoes, Sigriya, Bagh, Rajput and Mughal styles were probed and an attempt was made to evolve a national style in painting by superb blending of Indian and oriental styles. Linear and lyrical qualities of Indian frescoes and miniatures, scroll and Pata Chitras were studied anew and found fresh expression in the lucid flow of the brushes of the enthusiasts of the school. Great savants of this school Abanindra Nath, Gaganendra Nath and Satyendra Nath Tagores along with ambitious and young artists like Nando Lal and others were trying, no doubt, to free Indian art from degenerated colonial influence but they were not obsessive in their outlook. Though they delved deep in the rich art heritage of India and her mythological legacy, yet they were not blind imitators of the so called 'dead past'. Rather the past lived and flowed into a stream of continuity in the new movment. Eminent contemporaries like A. K. Coomaraswamy also joined the movement which had its centres both at Calcutta and Santiniketan.

Abanindra Nath Tagore experimented in varied techniques and styles. He had to find his aesthetic identity against the cross currents of influences--Italian, Japanese, Chinese, Persian etc. He and his famous colleague Havel tried to search a national revival in Mughal and Rajput styles. Ultimately, however, Abanindra Nath found his cherished goal in the rhythm of Indian life flowing from the psalms of *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* down to Vidyāpati and Caṇḍīdāsa's lyrics. The search presents itself in all its transparency in Aban Thakur's painting from 'Shah Jehan's Dream', 'Abhisārikā' to 'Buddha and Sujātā', 'Tiṣyarakṣitā' and Umā. His linear flow standing out in the mystic haze of his wash technique has a unique vision of creativity about it. With all his creative versatility he was a child at heart. He used to hold young and old spell bound at the āśrama (Santiniketan) with his enchanting tales of kings and queens, fairies and hob goblins. Thus the world of fantasy of the child expressed itself in the eerie rhythm of—

Pālki chale Pālki chale
dulki tāle
Bhūl perele chalche rele
Hanhaniye bhūl perele......

with these words the nocturnal busy world of ghosts and goblins and the weird rhythm of their joy ride in palanquins flashed across 'our tiny watching eye' when we cuddled by our mother's side in the enveloping darkness. His creative personality again found expression in a strange fantasy of rhythm in his world of *Kutum Kātums*. With a dried leaf of a tree or a twig he thus

captured the joyous flight of 'balakā' or with the whitish bark of an eucalyptus tree he recreated the imagery of the rhythmic ecstasy of Śiva-Naṭarāja. Such and other little delightful *Kulum Kālums* displayed in the 'Chaiti' feasted our eyes in the āśrama days.

Revivalists of the Bengal School of art besides their interest in India's past heritage, carried their own experimentations in new styles and techniques. Gaganendra Nath Tagore experimented with structuralist modes. Besides, his keen interest in indigenous culture and folk life of Bengal prompted him for such inspired work as 'Chaitanya Charita'. Early paintings of Nando Lal Bose, on the other hand, show a restless search. Wide range of his paintings and sketches bear the impact of this search. Like other exponents of the Bengal School of art he also sought to revive the glories of Ajantā and Bāgh. His mythological series like Śiva Satī, 'Penance of Umā', 'Virahiṇī Umā', 'Drinking of poison by Śiva' etc. show his emotional interest in classical themes. Again in his 'Natir Puja', where he captures the rhythmic pathos of devotional dance of "naṭi" who effaced her very existence in her self-less devotion to the Buddha, we find the upsurge of the depth of emotion of the artist. Search of Nando Lal Bose ultimately culminated in a series of landscapes based on the locale of Birbhum. His own knowledge of the Birbhum scenery was so extensive that he depicted it with a sure personal touch. Quaint little huts, palm trees, 'Khoyai' and other typical features of Birbhum region have been portrayed by him with loving attention to details. His ornamental works and works inspired by indigenous folk life also bear the stamp of his personal identity with his themes.

It remained, however, for an amateurish genius like poet Rabindra Nath Tagore to stage a total revolt against traditionalism which was gradually becoming rather stale. But this he did without any conscious effort. Gurudev took to painting at a ripe old age when he found the language of the brush more lucid for the expression of his subconscious creative self. Though completely untrained, his sensitive mind had been acutely conscious of the current happenings in the world of art both at home and abroad. Finally he burst out with the daring experimentation of a non-professional. With his unique personal style and lyrical vision he heralded the dawn of a new epoch in the world of art. In fact his mysterious female forms, off beat landscapes, fantastic animal shapes and sophisticated coloration mark him as the true avant-garde of modern painting.

Spirit of revivalism, which was rocking the world of art in India found different channels in the paintings of Jamini Roy and Amrita Sher Gill. Both, however, remained academically aloof from the Bengal School. Jamini Roy in his zeal for the indigenous did not turn to ancient or Medieval store houses of Indian art but he turned to the bazar styles of Kalighat. The Patuās who assembled near Kālī temple in Kalighat Calcutta, uśed to paint vivid scrolls on religious and secular themes in vibrant colours with few broad sweeps of the brush. These were sold a copper each to the interested pilgrims. Blending of rich colours and slick curvacious lines often created stunning effects in these 'Pats'. Jamini Roy took his vivacious palette from the 'patuās' of Kalighat and for his themes he explored the world of Indian folk paintings, wooden dolls of Bengal, terracotta reliefs and a copper

each 'Pats' of Kalighat. He even prepared his own indigenous palette from earth and vegetable colours. But he was never rigid in his Indianness and Post Impressionist art, especially that of Van Gogh inspired him and some of his landscapes bear the impact of this influence. He also painted a superb series on the life of Christ. Jamini Roy's works are characterised by his animated colour scheme, freshness of approach and verve. Later on, however, steady growing demands for his work reduced them to mechanical reproductions.

Amrita Sher Gill's early Parisian training together with the impact of Cezanne, Gaugin and Modigliani on her works and thoughts alienated her in the beginning from her roots. But after her return to India her values, her themes and style changed considerably. Like her predecessors she also found new joy in the depth of India's past heritage. Ajanta frescoes, Pahari and Mughal miniatures and the masterpieces of Rajput paintings stirred her soul. But she could not forget her early Parisian training and swayed constantly between the two opposites—intellectual values and technique of Western school and rhythm, spontaneity and charm of the Indian classical schools. Ultimately she worked out an aesthetic adjustment and her style remained Western and her theme became Indian. She was outwardly opposed to the Bengal School of art but some of the same 'revivalist' elements as were seen in the works of her predecessors can be found in her works.

Among the direct disciples of Aban Thakur, Devi Prasad Roychaudhury's name stands prominent. Later he joined the Madras School of Art. His vitality as a painter was as dynamic as that of a sculptor. He was a man of liber-

ated outlook and by a happy mixture of Western and Indian forms he evolved a new style. He experimented both in oil and water colours and his versatility found expression both in literature and art. The reward came to him finally in the form of a National honour in 1958.

Asit Kumar Haldar also attained name and fame as a worthy exponent of the Bengal School of art. He drew his themes mostly from the Purāṇas and for his style and coloration he turned to Rajput and Mughal paintings. He made some beautiful reproductions of Ajanta and Jogimara cave paintings. But his talents did not remain tied to past traditions. Mark of his talents can be seen in his superb capacity of blending conflicting values like traditionalism, revivalism with a modern idiom. His nature studies and landscapes also bear the stamp of his talents.

Kshitindra Majumdar—the struggling genius and a noble successor of the Bengal School, stood at the cross roads of a passing epoch and the beginning of a new era in the history of Indian painting. And his works reveal a happy synthesis of both. Some of his best paintings are surcharged with an intense religious feeling and his series based on the life story of the great Vaiṣṇava Saint Chaitanya are profound expressions of the depth of his feeling. His aesthetic sensibility finds a supreme joy of expression especially in the interplay of emotions, subtle harmony of colours, rhythmic flow and refinement of lines.

Legacy of the Bengal school of art, however, did not remain restricted to the boundaries of the region. Its message was inherited and transmitted to the distant

parts of the country. And the movement for striking roots, which the savants of the Bengal started, reached its cherished goal in the works of the worthy successors.

In recent years, however, there is a raging tendency among some intellectuals to decry the contribution of the Bengal school of art. They say that the paintings of the savants of the Bengal school of art neither reflect the complexity nor strife of life. The aim at revivalism according to modern critics only ended in imitating the "dead past". It is true that the tension and 'strife' mirrored in the contemporaneous painting is lacking in the works of the Bengal School of art. But sincerely speaking do the complexity, fury, tension and agony which find expression in most of the modern works today actually reflect our own mental attitude or are they true to our social context ? It is true that social values of our country have changed considerably in recent years. The growing interaction between the East and the West in the post-Independence days has reacted upon our intellectual attitude. Full impact of this altered attitude is noticeable in the domain of our modern painting. Horizon of our vision has widened and we have been trying hard to pick up with the pace of global trends in art. But the global trends about which we boast to day is not the monopoly of our generation. The poineers of the Bengal school were much more aware of the current trends of their time but they were also acutely aware of their social compulsion and limitation.

The helpless fury and outrage which find reflection in Piccasso's famous 'Guernica', were provoked by similar helpless and shocking situation, when the ruthless bombing by the Germans in 1937 completely devastated the small town of 'Guernica'. The telling cry of agony

in Piccasso's painting can only be understood in the context of such object human suffering in which the artist was directly or indirectly involved. Portrayal of such strife, agony and tension can only be true in similar agonising experiences. "We are acutely conscious of the present disorder", as Dr. Radha Krishna has said, "and are anxious to remould society to a better plan." But our sufferings are mostly mental torments, not the agonies born out of experience. Savants of the Bengal School of art realized this and they refrained from depicting the 'strife' in which they were not active participants.

THE CONCEPT OF SUPREME CONSCIOUSNESS

(IN THE LIGHT OF KAŚMĪRA ŚAIVISM)

RAMA SHANKAR MISHRA

Faizabad

Śiva united with Śakti pervades the whole universe. He is the Supreme Consciousness. Śakti is instrumental in causing the revelation as well as the dissolution of all matters.

According to Kaśmīra Śaivism the Universe is supposed to be the Body of Supreme One and in this Universe Body the Supreme Śiva resides in the form of Supreme Consciousness i.e. Ahantā.

विमतिपदमङ्ग सर्वं मम चैतन्यात्मन: शरीरमिदम् ।
शून्यपदादीलावधिदृश्यत्वात् पिण्डवत् खिन्नम्[1] ॥
शिवादिक्षितिपर्यन्तं विश्वं वपुरुदंचयन् ।
पंचकृत्यमहानाट्यरसिक: क्रीडति प्रभु:[2] ॥

This Supreme Consciousness pervades all the objects of perception; the human body, the sense-organs, intellect, life, space and time, the tattvas (elements), the Kalās (digits), the varṇas (letters), the pada (word) and

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1. *Virūpākṣa Pañcāśikā* 1/2.
2. *Anuttara Prakāśikā*, Page 1.

the mantra (incantation) etc. On account of these reasons this Supreme Consciousness is called Omnipresent :

विषयशरीरेन्द्रियधीप्राणनिरोधप्रसिद्ध्यदस्मित्वाम् ।
इत्थं चितिमखिलेऽध्वनिवारयतो विश्वदेहत्वम्[3] ॥

That consciousness, as its will, sets even the inanimate objects in motion and manifests itself through the various objects of the world :

चिदात्मैव हि देवोऽन्तः स्थितमिच्छावशाद्वहिः ।
योगीव निरुपादानमर्थजातं प्रकाशयेत्[4] ॥

All the innumerable and variegated appearances are not separate from the Supreme Being. The Supreme Consciousness is the Kartā (the Doer); That is Svatantra (Free). The Supreme Being contracts as well as expands the whole world through His power-waves. In the moon, the sun and the fire, He resides in the form of Prameya (object of perception), Bhāna (knowledge) and Pramātā (the knower or experiencer) respectively:

सोमरविवह्निलक्षणभोग्येन्द्रियभोक्तृभानपिण्डात्मा ।
विन्दुर्विमर्शधर्मा षण्णामेकोऽध्वनां प्राणः[5] ॥

All the four constituents of the universe, viz., Śakti, Māyā, Prakṛti and Pṛthvī abide in that Supreme Element. Since that Supreme Element (which is nothing but consciousness) reveals itself through the various

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3. *Virūpākṣa-Pañcāśikā*, 1/4.
4. *Īśvara-Pratyabhijñā-Kārikā*, 1-5-7.
5. *Virūpākṣa-Pañcāśikā*, 2/15.

worldly appearances, the whole of the universe, being the manifestation of that Supreme One, is not inanimate but animate. The Supreme One animates the different matters through Its many Śaktis (Powers), such as Dhūmāvatī (the Smoky) in the Earth, Hlādā (the delighting) in Water, Bhāsvatī (the radiant) in Fire, Spandā (the pulsative) in the Air and the Vibhvī (the all pervading) in the Sky :

धूमावती पृथिव्यां ह्लादाप्सु शुचौ तु भास्वती प्रथते ।
वायौ स्पन्दा विभ्वी नभसि व्याप्तं जगत् ताभिः[6] ॥

All the Śaktis (powers) of the Supreme Consciousness that create the world are only Its desires. The Śakti, that generates space and time is nothing but the great power of the Supreme Consciousness which causes the revelation as well as the dissolution of all matters.[7] While causing the matters vanish, it is called 'Dhūmāvatī', and while revealing them, it is dubbed as 'Bhāsvatī' (the illuminous). The power that nourishes is called 'Hlādā' (the delighting); that which stirs is named 'Spandā'; the power that is all-pervasive is known as 'Vibhvī'. These are the forces that are instrumental in the acts of vanishment, creation, nourishment, dissolution and kindness. These forces have their different substrata whereon they rest themselves. Earth is the substratum of the Dhūmāvatī, Water of Hlādā, Fire of the Bhāsvatī, Air of the Spandā and Sky of the Vibhvī. Through this power i.e. Vibhvī, the act of benevolence of the Supreme Consciousness is performed:

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6. *Ibid*, 3/27.

7. *Śiva-Sūtra*, Comm., 1-14.

धूमावती तिरोधौ पुष्टौ ह्लादा च भास्वती भाने ।
क्षोभे च परिस्पन्दा व्याप्तौ विम्वीति शक्तयः पंच[8] ॥

As life pervades the body so does the Supreme Consciousness pervade the whole universe. This highest Being itself animates the six Adhvas (constituents of the universe); viz., Mantra (incantation), Pada (word), Varṇa (letter), Bhuvana (world), Tattva (element), and Kalā (digit). In this way the Supreme Being is the nature of Śabda (sound),—in Pada (word), Varṇa (letter), and Mantra (incantation),—and of the nature of meaning (Artha), Bhuvana (world), Tattva (element) and Kalā (digit). This is why that Supreme Consciousness is said to be "full of word and meaning". The entire universe lies within the wordtrack (śabdādhvan) and meaning-track (Arthādhvan) and hence it is pervaded by that Supreme Being. Word and meaning are threefold as creation. Maintenance and Dissolution, and as the three Bījas :

वागर्थौ नित्ययुतौ परस्परं शिवशक्तिमयावेतौ ।
सृष्टिस्थितिलयभेदौ त्रिधाविभक्तौ त्रिबीजरूपेण [9]॥
यस्य विमर्शस्य कण: पदमन्त्रवर्णात्मकस्त्रिधाशब्द: ।
पदतत्त्वकलात्मार्थौ धर्मिण इत्थं प्रकाशस्य[10] ॥

The Supreme Consciousness is the unity of Lord Śiva and his great Power i.e. Śakti; without Her, He is believed as corpse (Śava). The Parama Śiva is not separable from His Śakti as wave from water or the burning capacity from fire or the illumining power from the Sun.

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8. *Virūpākṣa-Pañcāśikā*, 3-26.

9. *Kāma-Kalā-Vilāsa*, Verse No. 12.

10. *Virūpākṣa-Pañcāśikā*, 2/18.

As it has been said above that the whole universe is the manifestation of that Supreme Being, here, to regard all the existent matters as something apart from the Supreme Consciousness is a great hindrance in the way of the realization of that Supreme One. All that exists lies within that as the currents in the sea. In brief. then, the Supreme Consciousness transcends the whole universe; That is eternal; That is Omnipotent, free and omnicient. That consciousness is the force that causes everything move. That is Transcendental voice (Parā Vāk) and Transcendental Power; and is the enjoyer of Its ownself within Itself. That is beyond Space and Time. The nature of the Supreme Being is Consciousness (Pratyavamarśa-rūpiṇī).

चितिः प्रत्यवमर्शात्मा परावाक् स्वरसोदिता ।
स्वातन्त्र्यमेतन्मुख्यं तदैश्वर्यं परमात्मनः ॥
सा स्फुरत्ता महासत्ता देशकालाविशेषिणी ।
सैषा सारतया प्रोक्ता हृदयं परमेष्ठिनः[11] ॥
प्रत्यवमर्शात्मासौ चितिः स्वरसवाहिनी परावाग् या ।
आद्यन्तप्रत्याहृतवर्णगणा सत्यहन्ता सा[12] ॥

As the movements of our limbs like hand etc., are caused by Consciousness, so the will of Supreme Being may move even the mountains. That is all-pervading; That is each and everywhere, - in Vindu (a radiant point imagined to lie in the centre and a bit above between two eye-brows), in Prāṇa (life), in Śakti (strength), in Manas (mind) and so on.

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11. *Īśvara-Pratyabhijñā-Kārikā*, 1-5-13 & 14.

12. *Virūpākṣa-Pañcāśikā*, 2-9.

The whole universe is reflected into the Supreme Being as a large city into a mirror. The great Yogin, who has arrived at the state of perfect enlightenment and who has identified himself with the Supreme Being, is supposed to be a creator of this universe consisting of the sun, the moon, the lightening, the cave and the forest etc., which is part and parcel of the Supreme Counsciousness itself. After creation-process is brought to its completion, the Supreme Being Submerges all the existing world within Itself.[13] When the creative tendency is absent in the Supreme Being, It dissolves the universe, and when the creative tendency is present in that Consciousness, It causes the revelation of the universe.

Human soul, pervaded by the power of Consciousness of that Supreme Being, appears as a fire covered with ashes. As cities and forests alike, being consumed by a mighty conflagration, loose all differences and become one with the fire, similarly, the entire universe, being immerged into that Supreme Being, becomess one with that :

कात्स्र्येनाविष्टमिवारण्यपुराद्यग्निना मयापि जगत् ।
चित्रमवधूय भेदं ननु गृह्णात्यैकरूपत्वम्[14] ॥
अथ चेत् सर्वभावानां न विना तत्त्वमेककम् ।
समन्वयोऽस्ति तदिदं कथमैक्यं विभेदितम्[15] ॥

The person, who regards the knower as Śiva, the knowledge as Śakti and the objects of knowledge as a combination of Śiva and Śakti, recognizes "So'ham" (That is I).

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13. *Pūrṇatā-pratyabhijñā*, Page 15.

14. *Virūpākṣa-pañcāśikā*, 3/31.

15. *Śiva-Dṛṣṭi*, 5-1.

The soul, animated by the Supreme Being loosing its separateness, becomes identical with that Supreme Being. All objects of knowledge, deprived of their identity, become one with the knower or experiencer. The human soul is able to recognize the Supreme Being by the power of memory, the world by perception and by a combination of memory and perception, he is able to recognize 'That is This'. Pratyabhijjñā (recognition) is a simultaneous function of memory and perception which occurs through the kindness or benevolence of the Supreme Consciousness.

[illegible]

[illegible] the Supreme Being [illegible] is [illegible] identical with that Supreme Being [illegible] of their [illegible] become [illegible]. The human soul is [illegible] Supreme Being by the power of [illegible] and by a combination of [illegible] he is able to recognise 'That is [illegible] is a simple [illegible] than [illegible] with [illegible] through the [illegible] Supreme Consciousness.

GLEANINGS OF HORTICULTURE AND BOTANY IN MĀNASOLLĀSA

L. P. PANDEYA

Simla

The systematic and scientific knowledge of Horticulture was available and cultivated in India from time immmemorial. A glimpse of that knowledge, available in *Mānasollāsa* of twelfth Centu.y A.D. has been presented here.

Mānasollāsa[1] is a Sanskrit work composed by Someś-vara II, the Chālukya king who flourished in the 12th century A. D.

It has two chapters called Bhūdhara-Krīḍā and Vana[2]-Krīḍā which contain much material connected with Horticulture and Botany. There are hundred and sixty verses which shed light on the plan of a beautiful garden, the preparation of soil, the treatment of seeds, the process of the sowing of seeds, the plantation of saplings, the various methods of grafting, the process of watering plants, their nourishment and protection, their diseases and treatments and some botanical marvels. It also describes various arti-

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1. It is also called "*Abhilaṣitārtha-Cintāmaṇi*. This has been published by the Gaekwad Oriental Series.
2. *Ibid*, Vinśati. 5 and Chapters I and II.

ficial plants and trees, maintained in a royal orchard and prescribes certain amusements which a king should enjoy in such gardens.

General Plan of a Garden : –

It says that a royal garden should be planned on an artificial hill, to be made in the middle of a garden full of beautiful flowers and various kinds of trees[3]. According to it, on the top of the hill, which is landscaped with peaks and with stoneslabs[4], there should be planted a large number of trees of marvellous varieties and having different fruits and flowers. It further prescribes that trees should be grown through various methods (including grafting) and should be nurtured like one's own offspring.[5] It should have trees producing an abundance of sweet fruits and fine flowers, grown in every season, large and tall in size as well as small, straight, beautiful, bony and dwarfish.[6]

Preparation of Soil and the Sowering of Seeds :

According to it, a garden should be planned on a good soil having sweet water and devoid of ant-hills and stones[7]. It should be protected against frost. On such a piece of land, sesamum and Urada seeds should be sown and tilled when they put forth flowers[8]. Thus, green manure was to be given to the soil before the seeds were sown and the trees planted.

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3. *Ibid*, verse 2.
4. *Ibid*, verse 3.
5. *Ibid*, verse 4.
6. *Ibid*, verses 5-5.
7. *Ibid*, verse 11.
8. *Ibid*, verses 11-12.

The preparation of seeds, before they are sown, is also prescribed. Seeds which are flawless, dried in the sun and belonging to 'naturally ripe fruits should be besmeared with cow-dung for five days and then fumigated with Viḍaṅga, Ghee and Dhūpa[9] (incense)'. This was the process to be followed in connection with all kinds of seeds.

For the preparation of seeds of a kind of milky, another process is described. According to it, seeds should be kept in cow-milk for ten days, then dried in the shade and besmeared with ash, and mixed with the milk of a tigress.[10] Another process was that the seeds should be mixed with powdered wheat and barley and then smeared with cow-dung[11], before they were sown.

Some other interesting methods of treating of the seeds are also described. If the seeds, before they are sown, are sprinkled with a solution, made of Pinyāka (?) . . wine, fish, and the meat of rats, they produce bigger fruits[12]. Seeds which are kept in a mixture of oil of Aṅkola and human flesh for seven days, grow immediately if they are sown in frosty soil[13]. The seeds of Dāḍima grow immediately and produce fruits if they are washed in the blood of cocks twenty one times[14]. Seeds of any type of fruit produce flower and fruits soon if they are kept in a mixture of fish, meat, milk and fat of pig[15]. The seeds of ripe fruits, red as

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9. *Ibid*, verse 7-8.
10. *Ibid*, verse 9.
11. *Ibid*, verse 10.
12. *Ibid*, verses 57-58.
13. *Ibid*, verses 81-82.
14. *Ibid*, verses 82-83.
15. *Ibid*, verses 83-85.

copper, grow immediately and produce flower and fruits, if they are kept continuously for seven days in a mixture of fish, oil of the flesh of pig, Ghee and milk and then mixed in the ash of the plants of Bṛhati and sesamum[16].

The Process of Plantation :

According to it, the distance between two trees should be sixteen, eleven, eight and fourteen cubits, because they vary in their size[17]. It further describes the preparation of pits in which plants are to be grown. According to it, a pit measuring four cubits in length and breadth should be dug first and then filled with bones, and dried cow-dung[18] which should be burnt well in it. Afterwards, the ash should be taken away from the pit which should be filled with earth mixed with sand. Then water, which is mixed with meat of goats should be poured on[19] it. It is said that seeds sown in such a pit produce beautiful plants and the plants grown in them[20] develop very well.

It further instructs that the seeds of Aśoka, Nimba, Punnāga, Vakula, Nāgakeśara, Śirīṣa and Tilaka should first be sown in a grove and a king who does so obtains fortune, fame, victory and prosperity[21]. But, he should not plant trees such as Palāśa, Kancanāra, Śleṣmātaka and Karaṇya[22]. But it does not give the reasons for it and the reader is left to surmise. It should be noted that this

16. *Ibid*, verses 84-85.
17. *Ibid*, verses 13-14.
18. *Ibid*, verse 15.
19. *Ibid*, verse 16.
20. *Ibid*, verse 17.
21. *Ibid*, verses 18-19.
22. *Ibid*, verse 20.

treatise does not shed light on the process of grafting of plants.

The Process of Watering Plants :

After the sapling is planted, it should be watered keeping the seasons in view. It prescribes that they should be watered on alternate days in the cold season (i. e. from the month of October to January), and every morning during the spring and summer seasons[23]. But, it further instructs that in the rainy season and on extreme cold days, they should be watered when the earth around the plant is dry[24]. If there is accumulation of water for some time around the plant, it indicates indigestion and water should not be poured on it[25]. In such a situation, the earth around the plant should be dug, the accumulated water allows to dry up and then watered[26]. It further prescribes that after the seed is sown, it should be watered with only one jar of water for one year and after that the quantity of water should be increased every year by one more jar[27]. This process should be continued for twenty years and trees should be watered with great care at proper time, because by this method, trees produce fruits in all the seasons and they look beautiful[28].

The Protection of Plants :

The trees are to be protected with every care against frost, extreme heat, smoke, fire and insects which weave

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23. *Ibid*, verse 21.
24. *Ibid*, verse 22.
25. *Ibid*, verse 23.
26. *Ibid*, verse 24.
27. *Ibid*, verse 33.
28. *Ibid*, verses 34-35.

webs on plants and trees[29]. It further instructs that useless leaves and shrubs which grow at the root of a tree should be cleaned to promote the growth of a tree[30].

Plant-Pathology :

There are some prescriptions given in this work for the removal of certain diseases of plants and trees. Prescriptions which save trees and plants are also given. Once it states that earth which has been struck with lightning, should be scattered around the trees to save them from frost[31] and hail-storm. According to another prescription, cooked rice mixed with sugar, curd and salt should be scattered on the earth of a grove to protect it from frost[32].

The fumigation of plants is also prescribed to save the plants and trees from certain insects. According to one method, the trees should be fumigated with incense made of Viḍaṅga, mustard-seeds, flowers of Arjuna tree and a fish called Rohū[33], because it helps in the growth of flowers and fruits, kills diseases of trees and saves them from certain insects which are harmful to them[34]. Another prescription, mentioned here is fumigating them. It is described thus : Vidaṅga, Hīnga, Salt, black pepper, Ativiṣa Vacā (a kind of plant) Bhallātaka and the horns of baffalo should be powdered and mixed. This powder should be used in the fumigation of trees and plants, because with the help of its smoke, all the insects of trees and the grove are killed

29. *Ibid*, verse 25.
30. *Ibid*, verse 26.
31. *Ibid*, verse 27.
32. *Ibid*, verse 28.
33. *Ibid*, verse 29.
34. *Ibid*, verses 29-30.

and all the plant-diseases are cured. We are further told that infected, trees never produce large leaves and ripe fruits.[35]

Nourishment of Plants : And the use of manures :

The work devotes much space in describing various methods of nourishing plants and trees. It mentions the use of manures and the watering of plants by a kind of water-solution specially prepared by mixing certain things in it. It prescribes the fumigation of plants for this purpose as well and states that by fumigating a tree with a mixture, made of fish, Ghee, white mustard-seeds and leaves of bananas, the roots of a tree become smooth and produce good fruits[36]. A milky-tree produces fruits in all the seasons (always) if it is fumigated with Jātu and Kuṣṭha (i. e. wood of a tree)[37]. Again, if a creeper climbing on tree, is fumigated with clarified butter of a cow and watered with the fats of rats and flesh of pigs, it produces fruits throughout the year[38].

The preparation of a different kind of water-solution is described in detail here. According to one prescription, the solution made of Aṅkola, Ghee, honey and fats of pigs and deers, mixed with water helps a tree in producing fruits during all the seasons in a year[39] and if a tree is watered with Ghee and milk, mixed with Viḍaṅga and honey, it is laden always with fruits, leaves and flowers[40].

35. *Ibid*, verses 31-32.
36. *Ibid*, 35-36.
37. *Ibid*, 39.
38. *Ibid*, 41.
39. *Ibid*, 37.
40. *Ibid*, 38.

even today. The grass-roots of sculptural traditions of India are also traced from the same soil of Indus Valley. We can cite the example of the Young Danseuse (bronze) and the royal Priest (clay). However, the buildings of the Indus Valley civilization appear to have been quite plain and merely functional without any vestige of sculptural embellisment though with appreciably developed sense of schematic architectural arrangements.

Amazingly enough there are no traces of any record approving the role of sculpture in the field of architecture on such an advanced stage of this culture which had reasonably progressed in the various walks of material life. Sculpture, seemingly, was not regarded as an applied branch of architecture in this earliest urban civilization of the protohistoric India and even upto the beginning of the historic period.

The earlier Āryan religious rituals comprising Vedic-*Yajña* was, in course of time, replaced by the iconolatory in India. The abstract symbolism of Vedic sacrificial customs was an extra-mundane and easily incomprehensible so impracticable by the populace. It was easily conceivable by all that an image was a piece of psychological apparatus to call up one or the other aspects of divinity. By the propagation of icon-worship, consecration of a temple or installing the image in it and worship it or merely visiting it, became the pursuits of religious merit. Consequently the wealthy class or the nobility of the society, by virtue of religious feelings became involved in temple-building activity. Sometimes, as there are evidences, some ruling dynasts also indulged themselves in this work considered as pious and respectable. This very religious act of temple-erection and image-enshrining, with the flowing current of time be-

1



Sanchi, Temple, 17, view north-west



Ṭigawa, Kankali Devi (Gupta) temple, view from southeast

came an important feature of socio-politico-cultural aspects of Hindu life.

Thus, being closely related to the religious life the Indian sculpture was almost synonymous with iconography, at least in its primary stage. Although Indian architects built palaces as well as temples, the former were more likely than not made of wood or other perishable materials. The secular buildings and palaces of early period of Indian history are hardly excavated, on the other hand the temple came to be, generally, made of stone or brick being more lasting. Today, only the religious monuments either rock-hewn or made of stone, survive to represent the architectural as well as sculptural grandeur of ancient India.

The temple being not only the *devālaya* as a physical core but the soul of community it related, served as an assylum of art-both structural and sculptural. It was not a monastery of ascetics, nor the fortress of the priest of king claiming semi-divine power, but the house of *Dharma*. The shapes and forms of its sculpture and the colour on its walls only recorded the heartbeats and the spiritual aspirations of a vigorous ethnic life.

That the image could have been object of worship but not embellishment of the shrines in the early days of history is evidently shown by the temples of Gupta period which are regarded as the earliest structural representations in Hindu *devālaya*. We find in this period the 'houses of God' as simple and plain structures without any sculpture on their walls for example the Temple 17, Sanchi, Kankali Devi temple, Tigawa. (plates 1 & 2).

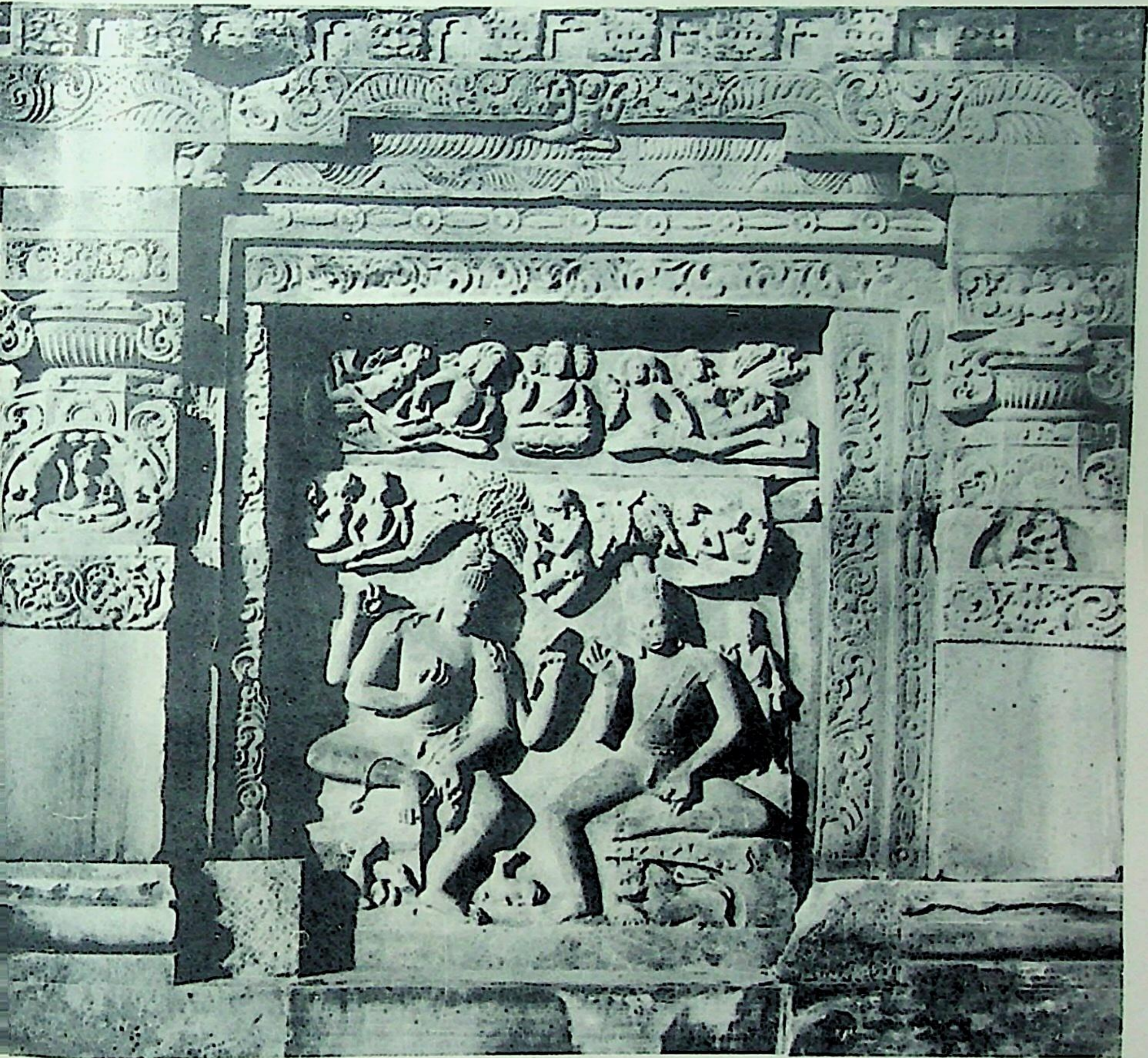
Not long afterwards, however, do we see the beginnings of sculptural embellishment on some organs of the temples

at Deogarh, Bhumra, Bhitargaon and Sirpur etc. (plates 3-5). The practice caught the eye so fast that it is difficult to imagine a temple without sculptures adoring its exterior, and some times even interior, particularly those consecrated during the middle ages. It took a long time—involved in the process of gradual evolution – to cover the whole surface of the temple by beautifully carved sculptures.

The sculptural embellishment sprawled, though in a restrained manner upto *jaṅghā* and *śikhara* at the Daśāvatāra temple, Deogarh (plate 3) and the Brick temple, Bhitargaon (plate 5) through the doorjambs, *vedībandha* and pillars of the temples at Sanchi, Tigawa, Nachna (plate 6) and Bhumra (plate 4). As the wheel of development moved forward with the course of time the embellishment of temple evolved to the complexity along with that of plan and elevation.

The monuments of this age describe that for artists of Gupta age 'art was not a fleeting stimulation but a perfect dedication to the ideal of life in which best of human action and thought are in harmony'. (Agrawala, V. S., *Studies in Indian Art,* p. 208). They never took it as a matter of pastime. It was something attached--spiritually and emotionally--to their life and thought. So they always tried their best level to draw a picturesque impression of their aesthetic feeling and imagination on their artistic creations. They utilized their skill, really, in a spirit of renaissance as not only the accumlation and assimilation of the best of the earlier connections but they were also considerably cautious and eager for the representation of new aesthetic standards and values. The architectural simplicity, the unpretentious size and the austerer and restrained decoration of the temples are in quite contrast to the sculptural wealth of

3



Deogarh, Daśāvatāra temple, east wall, detail showing Nara Nārāyaṇa



Bhumra, Siva temple, doorframe and Ekamukhaliṅga in *garbhagṛha*

the time regarding quality and quantity. In sculpture the art of this period is characterised by a balance and judicious restraint in composition, perfection of technique and boldness of execution which have scarcely been excelled. It has elicited its due meed of praise from connoisseurs because it leads to new aesthetic aspirations transcending this empirical world of senses and becomes the embodiment of intellectual and spritual conceptions of the time. It tries to record higher experiences and deeper realisations due to its orientation towards an establishment of a closer harmony between the physical appearance and the spiritual feelings and between the outer world of art and the inner world of thoughts and spirit. It was a specific transformed example of the art of previous phase which was passionately addicted to the lush sensuality of this mundane and mortal world. The addiction to sensual subjects and creations was, perhaps, reduced by the sense of devotion and chastity to the religion-based artistic activities.

As for the sculptural art applied to the temples in the post-Gupta period is concerned, it is almost continuation of the preceding age. The *ghaṭa-pallava,* lotus band, scroll and floral designs and the *kīrttimukhas* appear frequently. On the pillars of *prāggrīva* some motifs are carved which were unknown to preceding age but frequently found on Pratihāra monuments, for example the *udgamas* superimposing the niches containing images. (plate 8)

The temples of Pratihāra period exhibit some salient features which put them in a notably different category. By this time the Āgama literature had been considerably enriched and the Hindu mythology popularised. Therefore, the different parts of the temple with their dimension and the iconography of various divinities with *parivāra-devatās*

were described in the orthodox scripture. A conscious and faithful following of these descriptions is easily discernible in the plastic art of Pratihāra period. The beginning and continuation of the depiction of *aṣṭa-dikpālas*, on their destined places with their respective *vāhanas* and *āyudhas*, is an important achievement of this period (plate 7). The projections of *jaṅghā* were invariably ornated with tall pedimented niches containing some image. The pediment *(udgama)* comprised a *candraśālā-jālaka* receding upwards (plate 8).

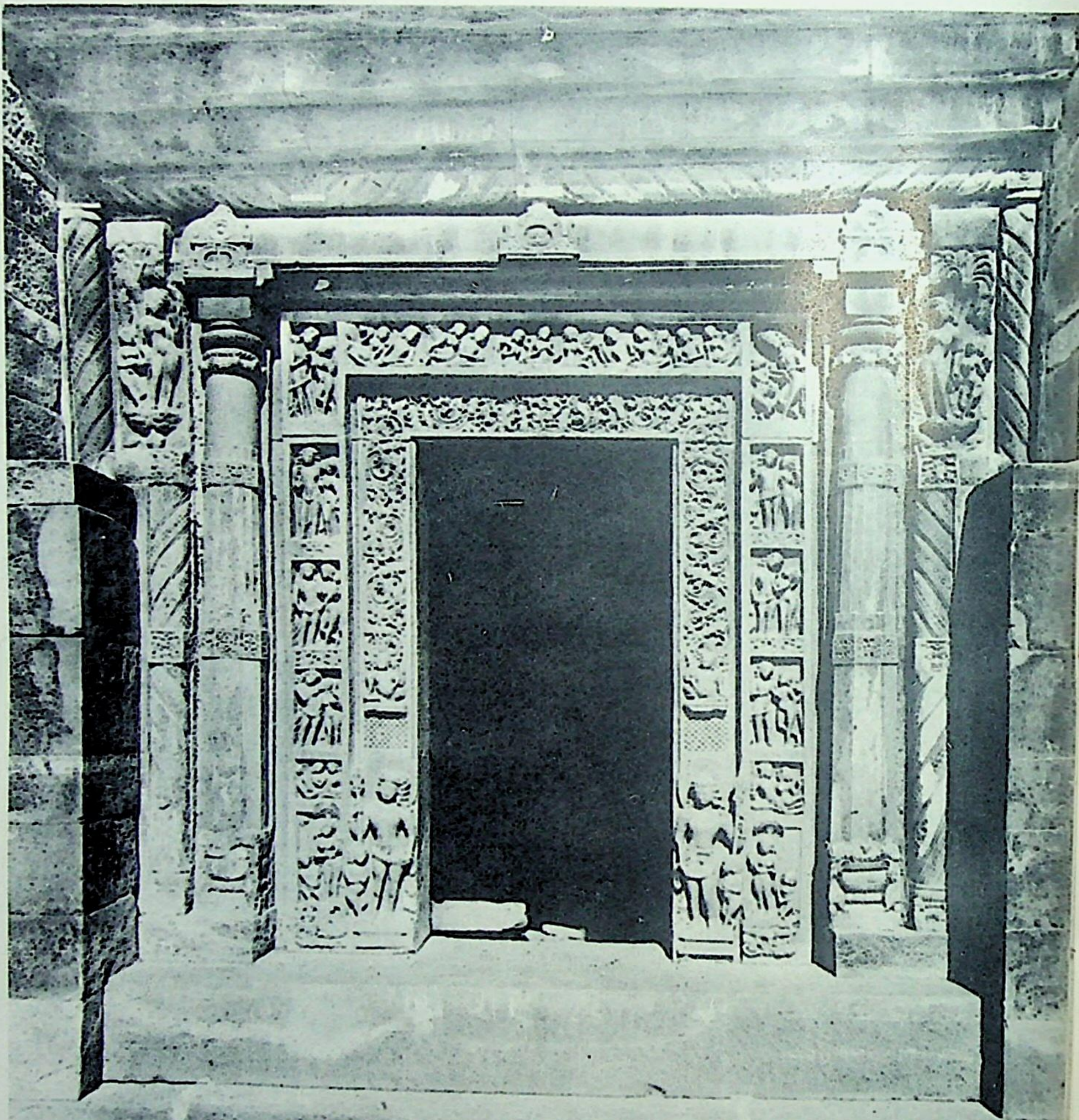
A zealous and unprecedented ferment in the field of architecture along with sculpture as its applied art, is perceived in this period. As it was in a way the first full-fledged phase of structural architecture adorned fully with sculptures, at least in orthodox Hindu community, it was a grand and praiseworthy period of creativity and artistic activities which provided a rich solid and splendid base, for the superb structures of the succeeding period. The tradition continued uninterruptedly and produced the marvellous masterpieces of medieval Indian temples.

With the close of the first millenium A. D., ancient India came to an end and medieval started. It was a turning point in the history of Indian land and people with an unfortunate and formidable advent of the Gaznavids. It might have posed as a formidable one, most likely, due to the internal momentous changes. The collapse of Pratihāra empire cleared the way for the establishment of petty and new powers already getting momentum and accumulating power under the tottering Pratihāra empire. The span of tenth century, in north India, saw the fall of Pāla empire in the eastern North India which reached its zenith under Dharmapāla (c. AD 770-810), though it revived a little at

5



Bhitargaon, Brick (Gupta) temple, *Sikhara* from south



Nachnā Kuṭharā, Parvati temple, doorframe

the end of the tenth century, and of the Pratihāra of western and northern north India founded by Nāgabhaṭṭa I, which saw its apex during the reigns of Mihir Bhoja (c. AD 836-885) and Mahendrapāla (c. AD 885-908) went under on account of the catastrophic blows dealt by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa raids, but retained a shadowy imperial dignity to the end, when it passed under the cruel hands of Mahmud of Gazni. The regionalism established by the petty parochial Powers prevailed over each and every aspect of life. The architecture and sculpture were not the exception. The autochthonal characteristics which were already in process from seventh-eighth centuries AD. became established in ninth and started attaining maturity in tenth century AD.

The two circumstances, firstly the regional states governed by various dynasties and secondly the vast geographical territory studded by the north Indian temples, caused parochial variations and local ramifications in the evolution of temple architecture. Thus, in the period under review there came into being a number of temple styles representing their respective regions. Due to the plurality of dynasties asserting an imperial status, though ruling a smaller area and their shortlived existence on the political map it seems inappropriate, inconvincing and even undesirable to dynastic appellation to the different styles of temple architecture which evolved through the hands of the masons and sculptors oftenly neutral to the political power with a sense of devotion and dedication towards the art inherited by their ancestors. However they also could not check the natural and gradual development of the art and regional variation became discernible in temple architecture with some specific changes. These changes, however did not alter anymore considerably and primarily the essential characteristics like the ground-plan and elevation which

exhibit an uniformity of the temple but they performed a significantly felt ramification in the ornamental design aud decorative repertoire applying a mass of sculptures on the facades of temple.

Indian sculpture found its shelter in the temples. Consequently they became predominantly religio-philosoiphical symbols of values and ways of Indian society of the age they date from. The apparent mobility of the images serves as a foil to the static or symmetrical elements in the design (plate 9). It makes possible that interplay between the mobile and the static by which the Indian temple architecture is charactarised (plate 10). The profiles of the architectural mouldings are amazingly consonant with the modelling of the images which couvey a sense of freedom from the imitations of matter aud the laws of gravitation, a feeling of litheness, buoyancy and spontaneity that emulates the autonomy, adventure aud emancipation of the human soul from the temporal world (plate 11).

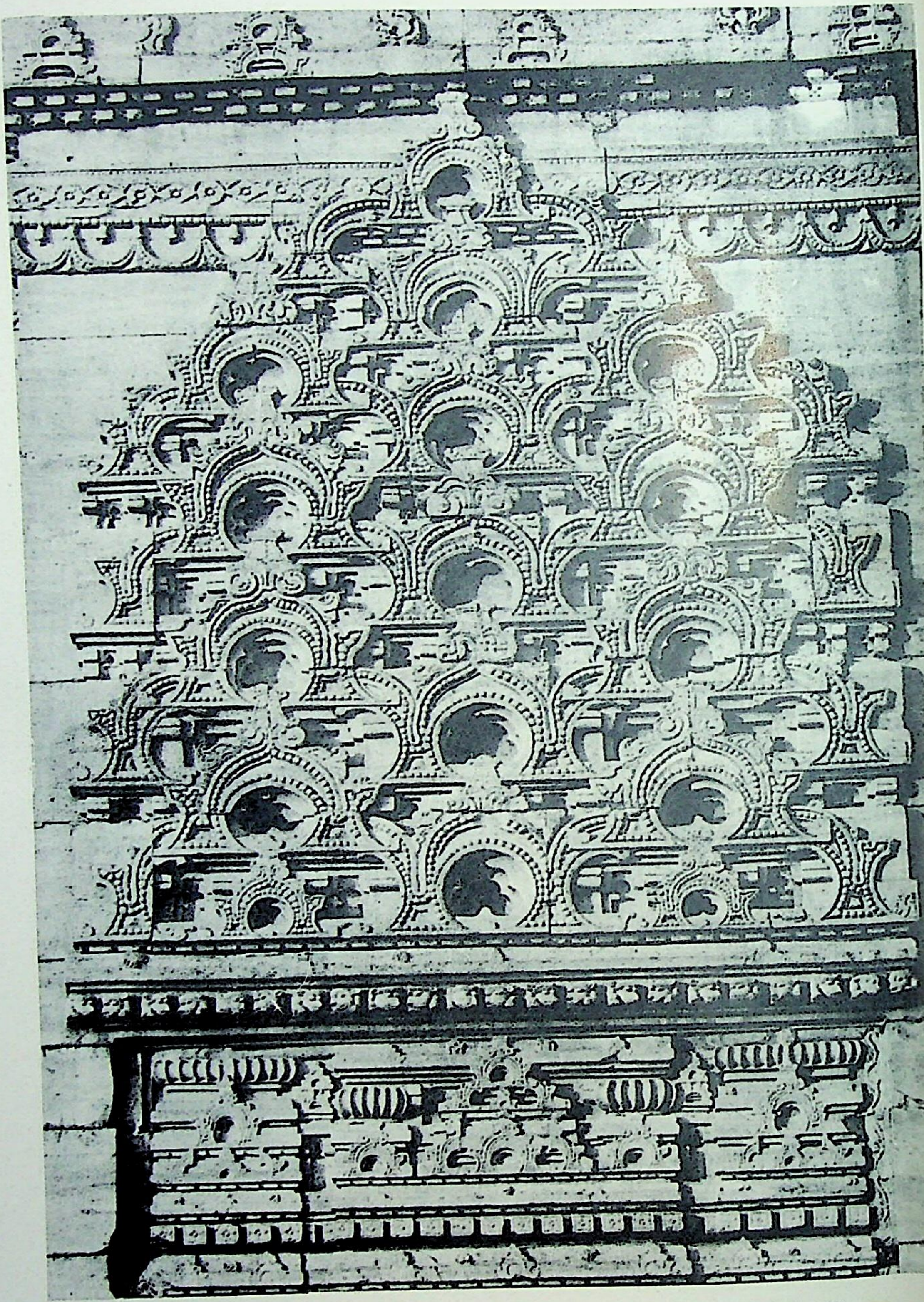
The architects and sculptors together tried to provide an extra-mundane characteristic to the temple, punctuating them by punctiliously carved images concerning the subjects beyond the empirical and terrestrial world. Thus, the temple is considered as an celestial unit with the sculptures as its soul, erected and modelled by the eclectic Indians.

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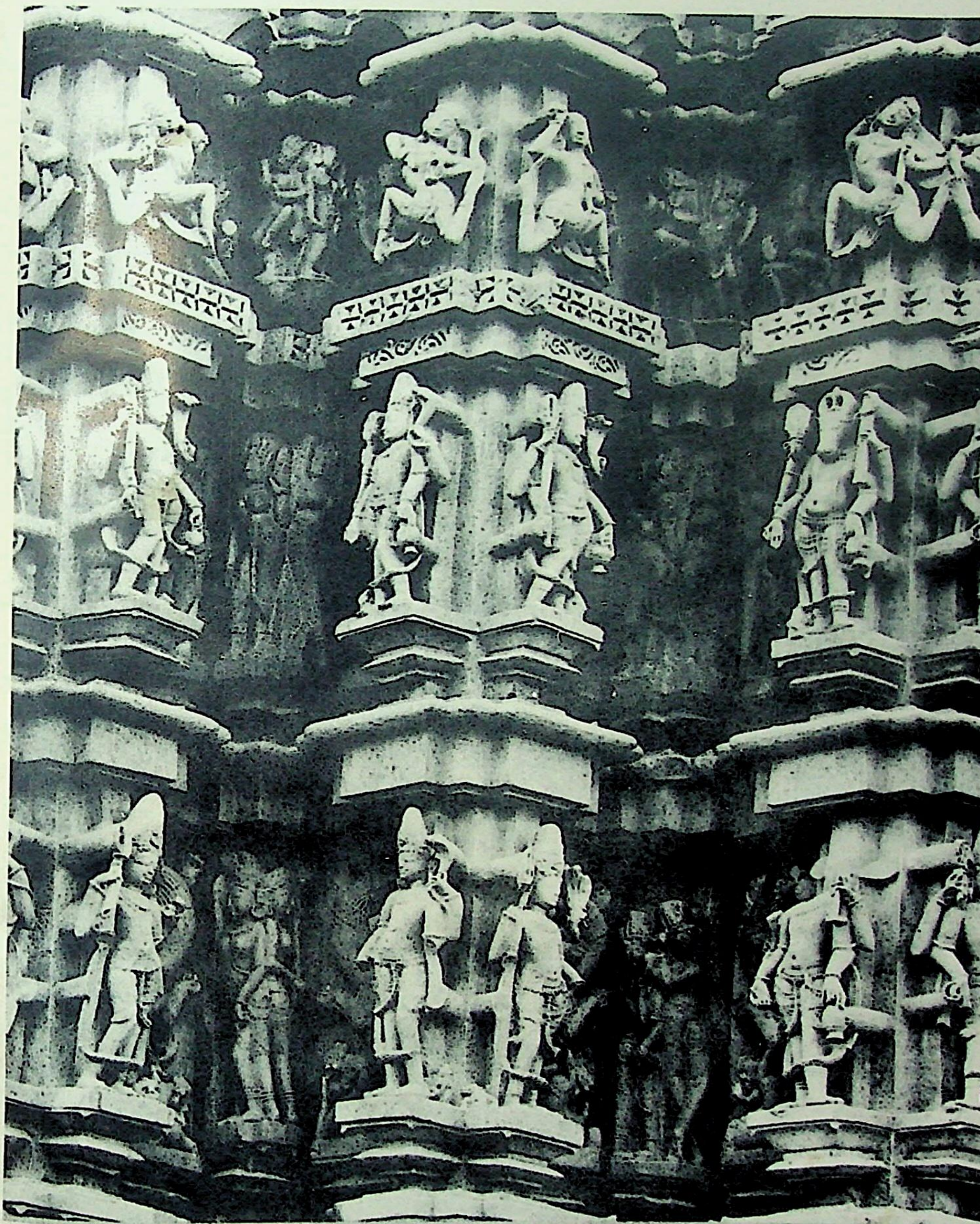
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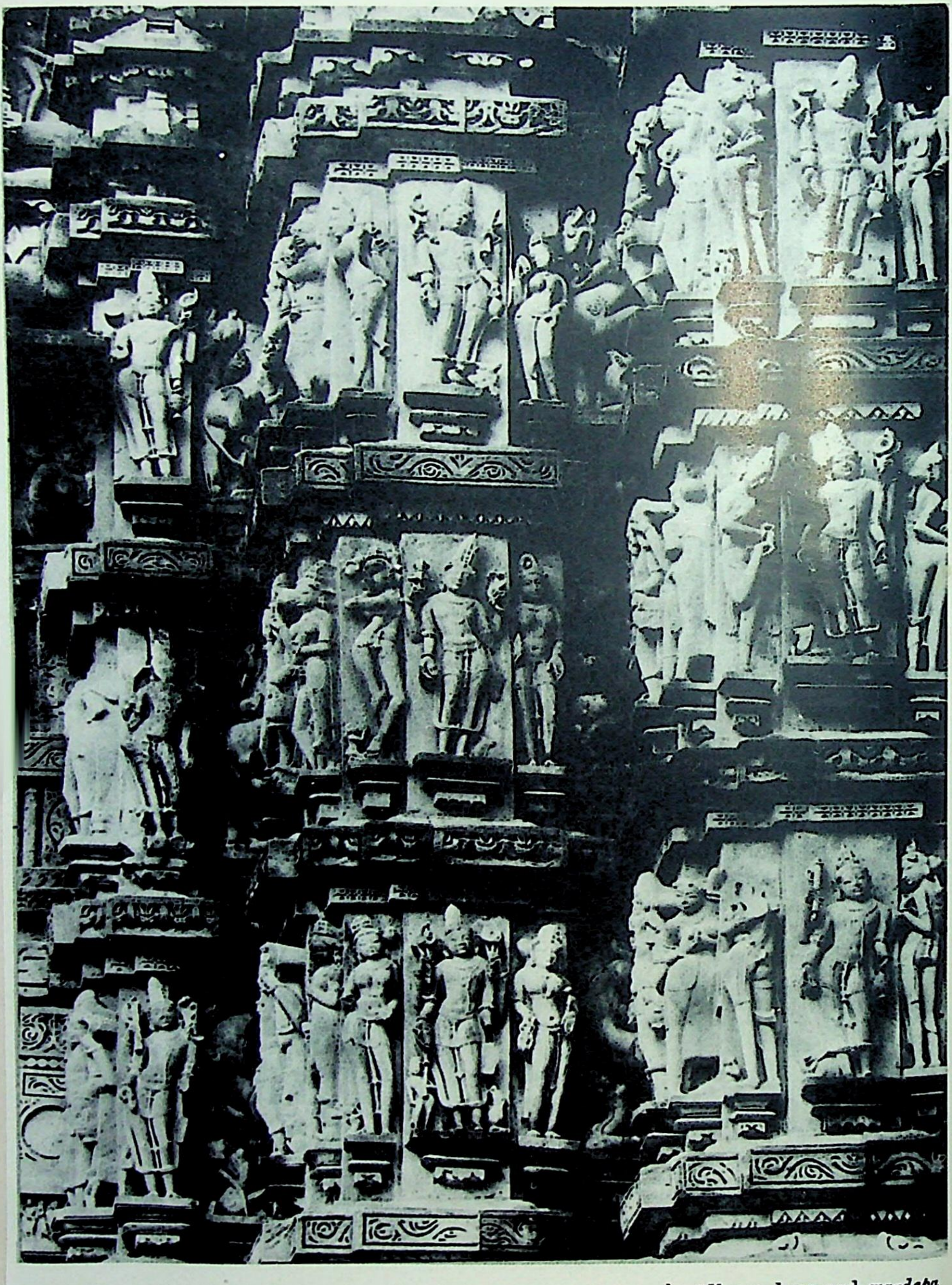
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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS



Khajuraho, Duladeo temple, north *Jaṅghā* detail



Khajuraho, Kandariya Mahadeva temple, south east corner between *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* and *maṇḍapa*

MONGOL BUDDHISM IN THE IMPERIAL PERIOD

LARRY W. MOSES

Bloomington

The author deals with the history of the spread of Buddhism in Mongolia especially in the 13th Century in an extensive yet a fascinating manner.

The origins of Mongol Buddhism are entangled with legend and self-serving historiography. Much of what is known, centers around attempts to picture Chinggis and his grandson Qubilai as wise rulers seeking the true faith for themselves and their people; Chinggis in his discourses with the Taoist sage Ch'ang-ch'un, Qubilai through the influence of the Tibetan monk Hphags-pa Lama.[1] The implication in these meetings, both of which bear a certain air of fabrication, is that the Mongols were unaware of Buddhism until their intrusion into the world in the thirteenth century.

And yet, there are definite similarities to the usage to which Buddhism was put by the Mongols and by the earlier barbarian dynasties. So much so that it is necessary to

1. Zahiruddin Ahmad, *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century, Serie Orientale Roma* (Rome, 1970). Vol. XL,

explore the possibility of pre-conquest Mongol contact with Buddhism or its emissaries before turning to the extant historical record. Such an exploration must place the Mongols in proximity to places of Buddhist worship at a period before their thrust out of central Mongolia into the known Buddhist world of the Uygur, Tangut, and Chinese.

Where and when the Mongols first came into being as a Mongol-speaking people is not known. That they eventually emerged from among a confusion of other barbarians on the Mongol highland is known.

Throughout the period of the Kitan Liao dynasty an assortment of barbarian peoples lived along the northern border. This border stretched across the center of Outer Mongolia on a line from the upper Orkhon through the strip of land between the Onon and Kerulen rivers to the Great Khingan range in Manchuria. It has never been possible to state with absolute certainty which of these peoples were the lineal ancestors of the thirteenth century Mongols.

One current lineal scheme, produced by a modern Mongol scholar of the Kitan, presents the Mongols as descendants of a people called the Shih-wei.[2] His entire scheme is produced in Table one. It suggests a common ancestry for the Kitan and the Mongols, which may or may not be tenable. What is tenable is that the Shih-wei were resident along the northeast border of the Kitan Liao at the

2. Kh. Perlee, *Khyatan nar Tednij Mongolchuudtaj Kholbogdson ni* (Ulaanbaatar, 1959) (In Mongol), p. 13.

time of the Mongol emergence into history in the same area.[3]

In the way of most groupings of people in Mongolia, the Shih-wei were a confederation made up of a variety of forest-and steppe-dwellers. The complicated linguistic questions as to whether they were Tungus, Mongol, or Turkic, or a combination of the three has not been successfully resolved.

Shifting combinations of tribes and leaders within a confederation continually brought new elements into it, as others left. Powerful tribal chiefs, jealous of the ruling Qagan, intrigued with other confederations, with the Chinese, or with the Kitan. For example in 1029 A. D. :

> The Southern and Northern Jürchen made an alliance with Ta Yen-lin and Korea to hold back on its tribute to Liao.[4]

And, in 965 A. D., a series of events which are illustrative of the confederation process :

> The chieftain, Yin-ni-chi, of the Big Yellow Shih-wei rebelled. Forty families of the Five Animal Quarters rebelled and entered the Wu-ku [Ongirat ?] tribe. The Small Yellow Shih-wei rebelled and repulsed an attack from the Liao army. The Shih-wei chieftain fled to the

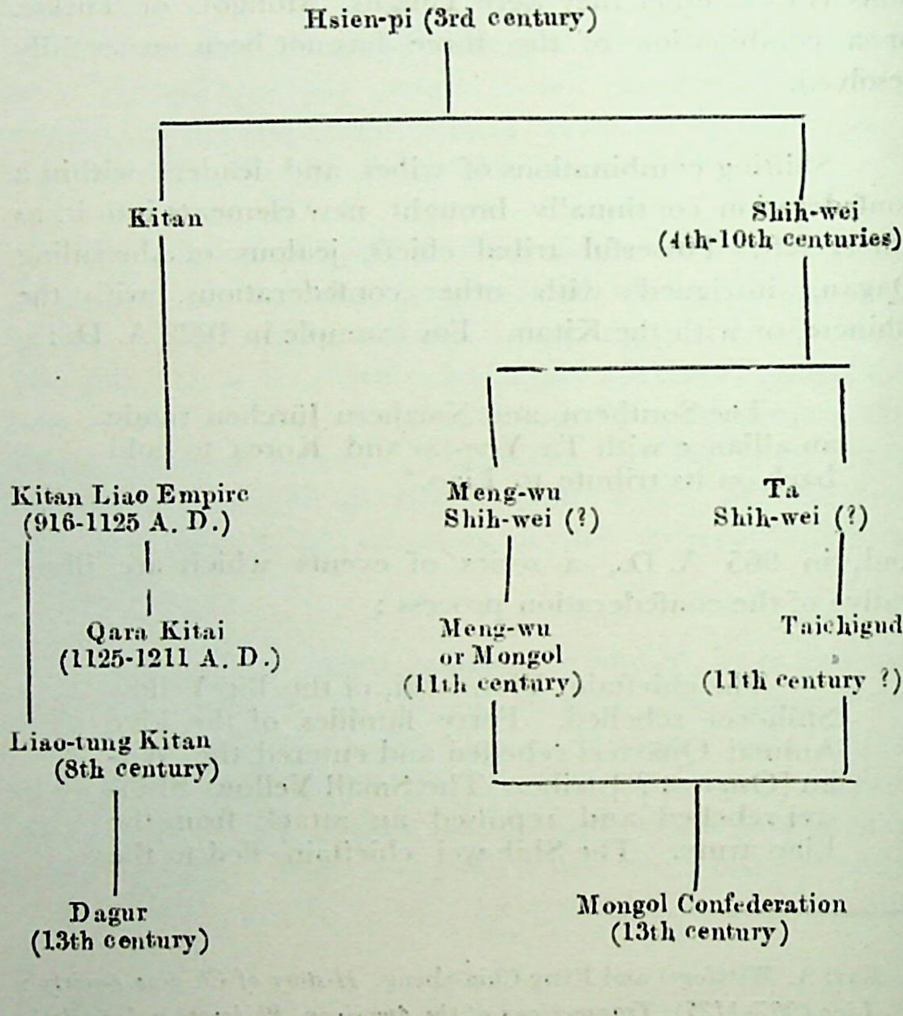
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3. Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, *History of Chinese Society : Liao (907-1125), Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, Vol. 36, 1946. (Philadelphia, 1949), end paper map.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 588.

TABLE ONE[a]

SUGGESTED ORIGIN OF THE MONGOLS



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[a]Adapted from Kh. Perlee, *Kyatan nar*, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

Ti-lieh tribe [Tereit ?]. The Ti-lieh tribe surrendered to Liao.[5]

Over several centuries continual movements of this kind made an original designation such as Shih-wei of dubious othnic validity.

If the Mongols came into being out of such a process the exact nature of their origin is lost. Somewhere in the geneological record of the *Secret History of the Mongols* may be the clue to the process. The legendary geneological record of the *Secret History* reaches back twenty-one generations before Chinggis Qagan, whose birth is usually placed in 1167 A. D.

Four generations before Chinggis, Qabul Qagan, one of the first historically attested Mongol rulers, had warred against the Jürchen. His campaigns are dated to the period 1135-1139 A. D. by Chinese sources.[6] The succession after him through Ambagai, Qutula, Yisügei, and finally Chinggis may be distortion of fact but is still a record of actual peoples and events.

Prior to Qabul, the Mongol rulers cannot be accepted as valid. The record is legendary but without basis. From the point of view of Chinese sources, the Mongols appeared in 1084 A. D. as the Meng-ku.[7] For that year they are listed only as paving a visit to the Liao court, not as tribute

5. *Ibid.*, p. 581.
6. Rene Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes* (New Brunswick : Rutgers University Press, (1970), p. 197.
7. Wittfogel, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

bearers. Meng-ku is without doubt synonymous with Mongol. It became the term used by Yüan historians after the conquest of China to refer to their ancestors.[8] In historical terms the year 1084 A. D. corresponds with the reign of Chinggis' mythical ancestor, Qaidu [see Table Two].

By contrast, the supposed ancestors of the Mongols, the Shih-wei, are last mentioned in the tribute tables in 984 A. D.[9] There is, thus, a century between the end of the Shih-wei and the appearance of the Mongols.

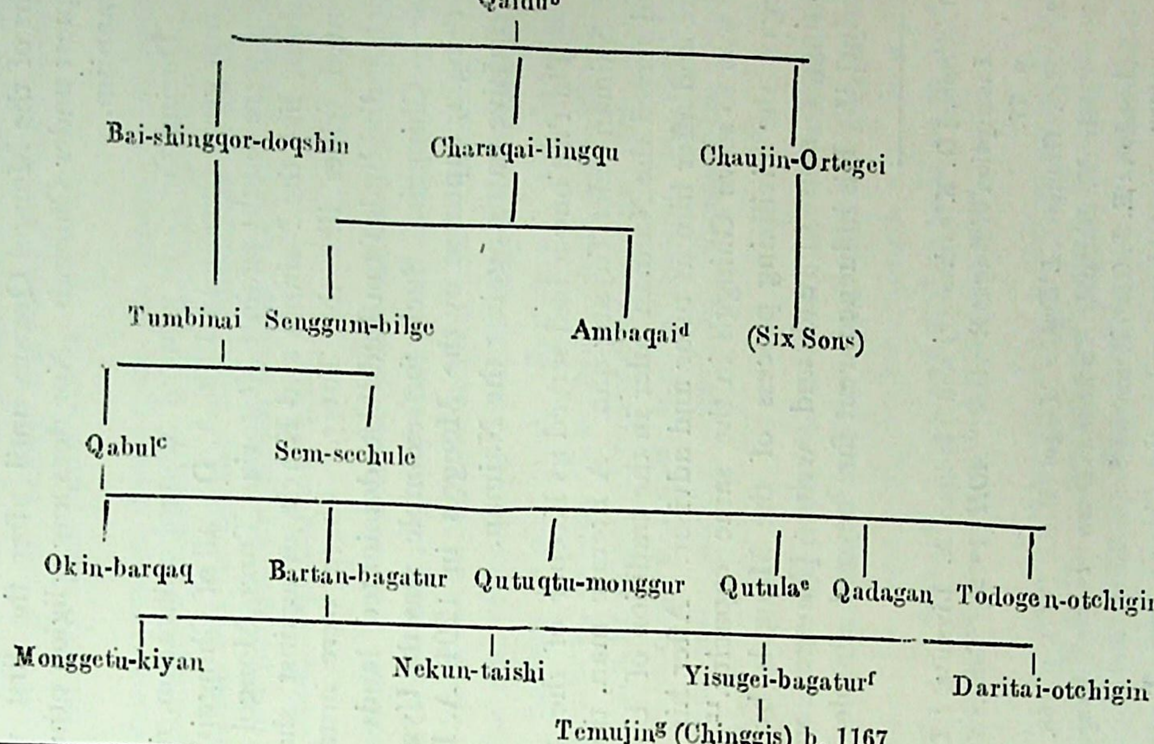
What is important here is that both were resident in the area of the Onon-Kerulen headwaters, and from there east to the Khingan range in Manchuria. In his book on the Kitan, Perlee locates at least seven archeological sites in this area.[10] As has been shown, these sites were urban, walled areas with Buddhist temples and statuary.

To say that the Mongols were converted simply by their proximity to Buddhist centers is, of course, ridiculous. But at the same time, they can hardly have passed by the stupas and monumental sculptures still present there without some notice of them. As with all the barbarian peoples, it is impossible to know the difference in the impact of a religion on the ruling class as opposed to the lower classes and slaves. There are no declarations of intent for the Mongol Qagans comparable to the declaration of the Türk

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8. *Ibid.*, p. 361.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 321.
10. Perlee, *Khyatan*, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

TABLE TWO
ANCESTRY OF CHINGGIS : THE FIRST SIX MONGOL QAGANS[a]



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[a]Igor de Rachewiltz, "The Secret History of the Mongols," Chap. I, *Mongolia Society Bulletin*, Vol. IX, No. 1, June, 1970, p. 61.

[b-g] The Small letters refer to the Mongol rulers in succession.

Qagan T'o-po inscribed on stone in which the spirit ordered him to establish a new great *saṃgha*.[11]

Buddhism does not appear in the political or religious affairs of the Mongol Qagans until after the first wave of conquest under Chinggis. Nor does any religion other than shamanism.

During the early years of Mongol unification, down to the first great *Quriltai* in 1206 A. D., all of Chinggis' campaigns were fought against Nestorian Turco-Mongol confederations, like the Naiman and Kereit, or against shamanist oriented tribes like the Tatar. There were instances in which individuals from Buddhist dominated lands became close to Chinggis. Such, for example, was the Uygur T'a-t'a-t'ong-a, captured by the Mongols in 1204 A. D. after the decisive battle against the Naiman.

T'a-t'a-t'ong-a had served as Keeper of the Seal for the Naiman ruler Tayang-qan. A literate man, the Uygur had served the Naiman ruler in the tradition of Uygurs before and after him as tutor and advisor. After his capture, he was to serve Chinggis in the same capacity.[12] He also began the civilizing process of the Mongols by teaching Chinggis' sons to read and write [Mongol in Uygur script].[13] His influence went far beyond simple tutoring.

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11. Sergej G. Klyashtornyj and Vladimir A. Livshits, "The Sogdian Inscription of Bugut Revised," *AOH* (1972), Tomus 26, Fasc. 1, p. 77.
12. Rene Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol* (Paris, 1941), p. 168.
13. Vasily V. Bartold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London : E. J. Gibb Memorial Series, Luzac and Co., Ltd., 1968), p. 387. Bartold transcribes the Chinese from T'a-t'a-tong'a to Tashatun.

He advised the Qagan on matters ranging from law to the establishment of a chancellery as the conquest outran the bounds of steppe social organization.[14] It is conceivable that the imperial family also learned something of Buddhism from this man, before the conquest burst through the Gobi into the sendentary world.

The conquerors interest in the things of civilization and his willingness to listen to wise men was continued with his invitations to two of the most important men in the later life of Chinggis, the Kitan scholar Yeh-lü. Ch'u-ts'ai, and the Taoist sage Ch'ang-ch'un.

Chinggis' interest in state philosophies and religions was out of a natural curiosity about the world beyond his limited horizon of the Mongol steppe. He remained illiterate to the end of his days, with no sound understanding of world politics or statecraft. But from T'a-t'a-tong-a, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, Ch'ang-ch'un and others such as Mahmud Yalawach he acquired rudimentary knowledge of the world broad enough to enable him to realize the need for an organized state system, based on jurisprudence and bureaucracy.

His need for the sages also derived from a shamanist inspired belief that there existed somewhere a means to immortality. To that end, he summoned wise men to instruct him. It was left to his sons and grandsons to seek out the philosophic and religious bases for rule.

Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was the first to be summoned by Chinggis in 1218 A. D., just prior to the first Mongol campaign against Khwarezm. Reportedly, the Great Qagan

14. Grousset, *Empire*, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

had heard Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai recommended as a scholar and bureaucrat. He may also have been aware of his religious background, as the sage had achieved enlightenment under the Ch'an master Wan-sung only a few years before the summons.[15]

His duties in service to the Qagan were more complex. He served as scribe-secretary, but also as court-astrologer and astronomer, interpreting daily events, predicting the future, and guiding the Qagan in his policies toward the conquered.[16]

He drew back from working a direct conversion of Chinggis to Buddhism in religion, and Confucianism in statecraft, preferring to leave that role to the Taoist master Ch'ang-ch'un- Yeh-lü Ch'u ts'ai felt himself inadequate to the task of instructing the Qagan. In his own words :

> As I see it, at the time of the foundation of Our State, when government affairs were very numerous and there was war in the Western region—so that one had not time to cultivate polite studies and exalt virtue—the teachings of the Three Sages would have all been of (particular) advantage to society. When I read the two books of the Way and the Virtue my admiration was deeply aroused. I wanted to make Our Lord (Chinggis Qan) tread in the footsteps of our ancient worthies, this is the reason why I supported (Ch'ang-ch'un); I wished to make him an advocate of Confucianism and Buddhism.[17]

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15. Igor de Rachewiltz, "Yeh-lu Ch'u-ts'ai," *Confucian Personalities* (Stanford : Stanford University Press, 1962) p. 193.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 198.

There is a suggestion in this that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai had failed in his desire to convert Chinggis. Chinggis, likewise seems not to have gotten from the Kitan sage the less complicated answer to the elixir of life. At the recommendation of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai and a Chinese physician[18] also at the court, the Taoist sage Ch'ang-ch'un was summoned in 1219 A. D. all the way to Khwarezm where the Qagan was involved in campaigns against a great number of enemies. After a display of hesitation, the Taoist, by this time an old man of 71 years, made the long trip out to the Western Land.

Chinggis was so taken with the Taoist because of his wisdom and success in debate he made him a life-long advisor, showering him with favors.[19] Unfortunately, at least by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's standards the Taoist was an apportunist and a shallow intellect who lacked the Buddhist resources to enlighten the Qagan had he so chosen.[20] He did not so choose, preferring instead to convince Chinggis of the merits of mystical and alchemical Taoism. His success resulted in a preferred status for Taoism in China until the Qaggan's death in 1227 A. D., to the detriment of Buddhisn and to the reputation of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai among China's scholar–Buddhists.[21]

Chinggis' failure to adopt the religious and state philosophies of China was in part due to the status and extent of his empire at his death. The tumultuous years of unification, expansion and conquest had resulted in secure con-

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18. Arthur Waley, *Travels of An Alchemist* (London, 1931), p. 38.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 132-137.
20. de Rachewiltz, *op. cit.*, p. 205.
21. *Ibid.*

trol over the Mongol area alone. Turkestan, the Qara Kitai lands, Hsi Hsia, and Chin were not subdued. Chinggis, death came iu a campaign against rebellious Hsi Hsia. Turkestan had been destroyed but not conquered. There was also strife among the sons of Chinggis over which of them was to claim the vacant throne, despite his apparent designation of his second son ögödei as his successor.

Buddhism had made little if any progress among the Mongols. Through the regency of Tolui [1227-1229 A.D.] and the reign of ögödei [1229-1240 A.D.] wars of conquest against Russia and Europe, Chin, Sung, Korea, and Western Asia alternated with internal attempts to organize the conquered territories administratively.

The complex task was complicated by many factors, especially in China. As could be expected, Mongol chieftains sought a system that would provide the greatest plunder in the shortest time. Opposed to them were advisors such as Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai who, through his tax reforms and Chancellery organization tried to achieve a balance between fiscal responsibility and plunder. Political rivalry between the sons of Chinggis over portioning the empire further hindered the task. During iögödei's years as Qagan, Central Asian advisorss gradually replaced the Chinese educated Kitan and Uygur advisors, in effect, a victory for fiscal exploitation over fiscal responsibility. They also further exacerbated th tensions between conqueror and conquered, and strained the chancellery beyond its already limited capacity.

In this environment, Buddhism was threatened by law, but in practice actually became stronger. As non-Confucianist bureaucrats replaced old-line traditionalists, Con-

fucianism was seriously weakened. The Confucian-Buddhist equillibrium was disturbed.

Edicts of Ögödei aimed at limiting the size of monastories and their clergy were passed but never enforced. War on a country-wide scale did not prevent the gradual growth of monastic wealth nor an increase of the number of monks.

From this point, Mongol legendary history begins to obscure the actual record. The later histories attribute the first Mongol contact with and conversion to Buddhism to the Sa-skya monks of Tibet. This is rightly so for the Yüan dynasty of China. The Buddhism of Mongolia, and its capital, Karakorum,was Uygur-Turkish Buddhism from the long tradition of Central Asia.

The first European travellers to reach the crude, bustling Central Asian crossroads capital found wide evidence of Uygur influence. John of Plano Carpini reached Karakorum, passing through the Dzungarian camps a half-days journey west from it.[22] In the years of his trip, from 1245 to 1247 A. D., during the coronation and reign of Ögödei's successor Güyük, he saw great evidence of Altaic shamanism but little of Buddhism. Yet, only a few years later another European monk, William of Rubruck, found Buddhism entrenched at Karakorum.

John of Plano Carpini had apparently not been aware of the inroads Buddhism had already made among the Mongol royal family. Qalagu, Chinggis' grandson, carried

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22. Christopher Dawson, *The Mongol Mission* (New York : Sheed and Ward, 1955), pp. 11-14.

his Buddhist faith out into the hostile Muslim Persian world on the campaigns in 1257 A. D. Godan, the second son of Ögödei became a protector of the Tibetan Sa-skya sect, at about the time of his summons to the Sa-skya Pandita in 1244 A. D [23] The summons asked the Sa-skya Pandita to come to Godan to give him instruction in much the same manner as Chinggis had summoned Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai.

Carpini's lack of awareness of these inroads may be attributable to his understandable desire to focus on Güyük's susceptibility to Christianity as shown by the favoritism he showed to Nestorianism. It might as easily have been a result of the lack of overt symbols of Buddhism in the Mongol steppe.

Rubruck, however, arrived in Karakorum at a time when great changes had come about in the political environment of the Mongol empire. Güyük had died after a very short reign (1246-1248 A. D.). Möngke and Batu, also grandsens ofChinggis, had displaced the line of Ögödei, placing the seccession instead in the line of Tolui, the fourth son of Chinggis. Since Tolui had long since died, the new Qagan was the first of Tolui's sons, Möngke. The internecine strife within the royal family coincident with this shift brought a profound shift in the position of Buddhism.

Möngke had grown up in a pervasive Nestorian atmosphere. His mother, a Sorqoqtani, a Kereit or Naiman, was Nestorian, as was his closest advisor Bolqai.[24] Yet, Möngke was extremely tolerant of Buddhists and, in

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23. Shoju Inaba, "The Lineage of tha Sa skya pa, A Chapter of the Red Annals (translation)," *MRDTB* (1963), 22, p. 108.

24. Grousset, *Empire*, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

the beginning, Taoists. Early in his reign, in 1251 A. D., he appointed sages from both religions to his entourage. Of the two, the Taoist, Li Chin-ch'ang, was at first favored over the Buddhist, Na-mo.[25]

Möngke's great tolerance must have been responsible for the differing impression left by Plano Carpini and Rubruck. The former leaves the impression of little Buddhist activity at Karakorum. Rubruck notes its overwhelming presence. His arrival and stay there came at a fortuitous time in the development of Mongol Buddhism. His stay at the court lasted from December, 1253 A. D. until August, 1254 A. D., a year during which he suffered great hardships, in spite of which he has left an indelible record of the Buddhist presence in Mongolia prior to the conquest of south China.

Rubruck attests to the religious toleration of the Great Qagan Möngke, who allowed a Christian Church, two Muslim Mosques and 12 temples of "idolaters" [i. e. Buddhists][26] to co-exist on equal terms at the capital. He also presents evidence of religious tension among those less tolerant than Möngke. On several occasions he either participated in or witnessed disputations among defenders of the various faiths. Rubruck, himself, inserted in his record many sharp comments on the drinking habits of the Nestorian priests, and on the Manichean heresies of other "Christian monks,"[27] excusable, perhaps, in this devout monk who had undertaken a perilous mission in the name of his faith. For the Muslims, he had only the greatest scorn. To

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25. *Ibid.*
26. Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 184.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

him, they were greedy, heretical, scoundrels, with whom he was at theological sword-points constantly. Perhaps to his surprise, one such contest was ended by the intervention of Arig-buqa, the youngest brother of Möngke, who seems to have defended Christ and Christianity against the "Saracens."[28]

The religious disputation resulted finally in the great debate. The debate in which Rubruck participated in 1254 A. D. was one of two theological debates ordered by Möngke. Rubruck could not have known of the second, which took place a year after he had returned to Europe. The debate of 1254 A. D. evolved out of the continual clashes between Buddhists, Christians and Muslims. A close reading of Möngke's discussions with Rubruck, and his conduct after Rubruck's departure supports the idea that Möngke was hearing out the wise men of all faiths in order to select one as his personal religion. There is also evidence that he was already leaning towards Buddhism. As has been mentioned, he had appointed Taoist and Buddhist monks to his entourage in 1251 A.D. The latter was likely a *bakshi*, a master of Mahayana Buddhism, who served as a chaplain to a prince.[29] Uygur monks, *loyin*, by this time of the lamaist type, were commonplace in Karakorum. Möngke had identified with them to the point that Rubruck referred to the Great Qagan himself as a *loyin*.[30]

On May 30, 1254 A. D., Möngke ordered members of the three religions to convene in an ecumenical council to

28. *Ibid.*
29. Emil Esin, "The Turkish Bakshi and the painter Muhammad Siyāh Kalam," *Acta Orientalia* (Havn.) (1970), 32, p. 83.
30. Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

debate the merits of their respective faiths. Present were one Christian (Rubruck), one Muslim, and one *toyin*, with three scribes acting as judges. The focus of the debate was on the existence of God with the Christian and the Muslim taking the affirmative, the Buddhist taking a polytheist affirmative :

> So I [Rubruck] said to the *tuin*. "We firmly believe in our hearts and profess with our lips that God exists and that there is but one God and that he is one with a perfect unity. What do you believe ?" He [the monk] answered "Fools say that there is but one God but wise men say that there are many. In your country are there not mighty lords, and here is not the chief lord Mangu Chan ? So it is with the Gods; in the different regions there are different Gods."[31]

Apart from cleverly appealing to Mönghe's vanity, the monk also appealed to his sense of tolerance, sadly missing in Rubruck's arguments.

On the day following the debate Möngke made his declaration of faith, not for Christianity as Rubruck had hoped.

> "We Mongols.... .believe that there is but one God, by Whom we live and by Whom we die and towards Him we have an upright heart . . . But just as God gave different fingers to the hand so He has given different ways to men."[32]

Rubruck had clearly lost the debate. Especially so, given the fact that in the next breath after the above state-

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31. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

ment, Möngke told Rubruck he had stayed long enough in Karakorum and that he should now leave. Möngke had not yet chosen between Taoism and Buddhism, but he had decided that Christianity was too doctrinaire, too restricted, for the ruler of all men. He was offended by the apparent arrogance of Christian doctrine. Its assumption of superiority over all other doctrines and Gods did not go easily with this man who followed in the tolerant tradition of his predecessors.

Rubruck's dogmatic victory over the Buddhists, at least by his recounting of the meeting, was a Pyrrhic one, not only his Christianity, but also for that of the Nestorians. They continued to be tolerated in the Mongol empire, but their influence declined after the reign of Möngke.[33] Rubruck had pointed out only too well that :

> The Nestorians did not know how to prove anything, they could only repeat what the Scriptures tell. I said "These people do not believe in the Scriptures; if you tell them one story, they will tell you another."[34]

Unwittingly, Rubruck had forced Möngke's decision. Early in 1255 A. D. , Möngke summoned a conference of Taoists and Buddhists to debate in the same way as had the Christians, Muslims, and Buddhists. This debate, again held at Karakorum, was the logical culmination of the ongoing religious debates. Other reasons had intruded. According to Chinese historigraphy, the long Buddhist-Taoist quarrel in north China, was also involved. By 1255 A. D..

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33. John J. Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquests* (New York Barnes and Noble, 1971), p. 118.

34. Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

Chinggis' earlier favorable edicts, had allowed the Taoists to take over many Buddhist monasteries. They had worked further mischief by using Buddhist sutras to prove the Buddha as only one of eighty-one incarnations of Lao-tzu.[35]

Whatever the reasons, the sages met before the Qagan. The Taoists were represented by the Li Chih ch'ang, leader of the Ch'üan-chen sect, who had been appointed by Möngke in 1251 A. D. The Buddhist representative was Na-mo [Fu-yü ?] of the shao-lin temple in Karakorum,[36] who had probably also been the Buddhist opponent of Rubruck. The theological debate between Rubruck and the Buddhist had centered on the existence of God. Pragmatism dominated the Buddhist-Taoist meeting; were the texts valid which portrayed the Buddha as inferior to Lao-tzu ? The debate was not crucial to the survival of Buddhism in China. It was crucial to Mongol sponsorship in the future.

Möngke by now was seeking more than a personal faith. Shamanism was no permanent basis of unity for the diverse peoples of the empire.[37] As China was still the *orda* of Möngke, the religions of that world were the ones with which he was most concerned. The quarrel between Taoists and Buddhists were important for them in a dogmatic sense. For Möngke, texts were simply a means of selecting the most rational of the religions as the basis of his orda.

The texts in question were the Taoist works, *Hua-hu-ching*, (Sūtra on the Conversion of the Barbarians), and *Pa-shih-i-hua-t'u,* (Illustrations of the Eighty-One Conver-

35. Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China* (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 422.

36. *Ibid.*

37. Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii.

sions).[38] The Former, was an old document dating from a sutra of the early fourth century. Its existence was brought about because of an earlier debate over whether the Buddha or Lao-tzu was older, and therefore superior. This earlier antagonism had caused a debate before the Northern Wei emperor, Hsiao-ming in 520 A. D.[39] The *Hua-hu-ching* proposed a birth date in the fifteenth century B.C. for Lao-tzu, a charge which was rebutted in the fifth century by a variety of forged Buddhist sutras. The result was a victory for the Buddhists, followed almost immediately by further debates, a reversal by another emperor, with a purge of Buddhism all across north China. For the debate of 1255 A. D., the important fact was that the *Hua-hu-ching* had survived and continued to be one base for the denegration of the Buddha.

The second text, the *Pa-shih-i hua't-u*, purported to be a record of the eighty-one incarnations of Lao-tzu. It continued the fiction of his long existence and the story of his going out to convert the barbarians before returning to die in China. These were the texts which the Taoists were called to defend in 1255 A. D. before Mongke. Unlike the debate of 1254 A. D., at which he was represented by judges who prepared a transcript for him, he was present and took an active part in the interrogation of both sides. His greater interest in the latter debate is obvious.

The Taoists could not defend themselves at the debate. Repeated questions by the Buddhist master resulted in evasions or silence on the part of Li chih-ch'ang. So abject was his performance that Mongke declared both texts to be

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38. Ch'en, *op. cit.*, p. 422.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

forgeries. He ordered all copies collected and destroyed and further ordered a restitution of monasteries and statues seized or destroyed[40]. From this point on, Mongke acted vigorously as a protector of the faith.

A second debate in 1256 A. D., called because of the refusal of the Taoists to obey the command of Mongke resulted in overt support of Buddhism by him. He said :

> "If all these religions [including Christanity, Islam] were carefully examined as to their origins, one will see that no one of them can be compared with Buddhism." Saying this, the Khan held up his hand to make a comparison and said "as the five fingers all project out from the palm, so Buddhism is the palm from which the others stem."[41]

Mongke had thus become the protector of Buddhism prior to the Qaganate of Quilai, and prior to the celebrated meeting of Qubilai and Hphags-pa lama. The Buddhist influences at work in Mongke's capital were primarily Uygur and Central Asian, and not Chinese.

The debates continued until 1281 A. D. but with a new cast of characters, and with very different implications for Mongol history. Mongke's attention was diverted from the religious controversy after 1256 A. D. by the new wars in China. The Sung dynasty south of the Yangtze River had continued to withstand repeated attacks by Qubilai and Uriyangqatai. Although Qubilai had been given command of the armies campaigning against the Sung at the Quriltai

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40. *Ibid.*, p. 423.
41. *Ibid.* Grousset attributes this same conversation to Mongke and Rubruck but it does not appear in Rubruck's account,

of 1253 A. D., Mongke grew so impatient with the uncoordinated efforts of his general, he soon went into the field himself. He crossed from Shensi into Szechwan late in 1258 A. D., led several inconclusive attacks on the City of Hochwan, and then suddenly died in August, 1259 A. D. of dysentery.

His death precipitated another long succession crisis, of the four sons of Tolui, Qubilai was the second after Mongke, followed by Qulagu, and Ariq-buqa. the latter, the *olchigin,* or hearth-prince, as was customary. As such Ariqbuqa claimed the Mongol homeland as his patrimony under customary law. He was also the rightful regent, empowered to summon the Quriltai to select the new Qagan. As Mongke had died childless, the new Qagan could only come from the other Chinggisid lines, or from Mongke's brothers, the first of whom was Qubilai.

Properly, Ariq-buqa should have notified the princes of the collateral lines fighting as far distant as Persia and the Russian steppe of Mongke's death. Among them the most significant were Qulagu in Persia, Berke, grandson of Jochi and son of Batu, at Sarai on the Volga, Qadan, the son of Ogodei, and Alugu, grandson of Chagatai. The summoning had, in the past, taken as long as two years, but no election should have been held without all the princes present.

Instead of summoning the electors, Ariq.buqa made known his intention to proclaim himself Qagan. From his vantage point at Karakorum, there seemed little the rivals could do. Most of them were scattered across Asia. Qubilai was chmeshed in the southern campaign in China, with little hope of arriving before the election. Few important figures were present in Karakorum at the time and none of

the imperial princes. Ariq-buqa was supported in his claim by the Nestorian state minister Bolgai, who paid with his life for his loyalty, but there is no hint that the two were in any way involved in a Christian versus Buddhist *coup d'etat*.

Qubili's answer to Ariq-buqa's astute political maneuver, was to convene a Quriltai of his own at Dolon Nuur in present-day Inner Mongolia. There, he was elected Qagan by a mixed-bag of relatives, army generals, and ministers. His act was illegal, his election was unsanctioned, but his position was very strong. He had the strongest army in the empire, blooded in twenty years of campaigning in China. He had the support of Qulagu and his army, still in Persia, but on the march homewards. In the Golden Horde, Berke was not overly interested in the succession struggle, keeping free for action against Qulagu, with whom he had many quarrels.

Ariq-buqa had the steppe behind him in which to retreat, the psychological weight of the Mongol homeland, and dissidents from the houses of Chagatai and ogodei. These last were still seeking to right the wrong they felt they had suffered in Mongke's *coup* of 1250 A. D. Unstable allies, but the best Ariq-buqa could do in the circumstances.

He was no match for Qubilai. After repeated defeats, flights, and counter-attacks, Ariq-buqa surrendered in 1264 A. D. and died soon after.[42] Others, especially Ogodei's grandson Qaidu, contiuned to oppose Qubilai, making

42. Grousset, *Empire, op. cit.*, p. 286. Grousset gives 1266 A.D. as the year of his death. Others give 1264 A.D., the year of his capture.

Dzungaria a place of refuge for those opposed to the new Great Qagan. Their threat, although serious at times, was not sufficiently strong to turn Qubilai from the major goal of his reign; the conquest of Sung.

With matters settled at home Qubilai returned to the campaign in 1267 A. D. The success which had eluded earlier wars now came relatively quickly. From his new capital at Qan-baliq, the Great Qagan expanded his realm steadily to the south. By 1276 A. D., the Sung capital of Hangchow had been taken, and by 1279 A. D. all China was part of the Mongol empire.

Qubilai had begun to follow the pattern of previous barbarian dynasties in China; the pattern of establishing a half-barbarian, half-Chinese government. His *orda* was transformed into a dynasty, the Yuan, in 1271 A. D. In traditional fashion, the old home capital was abandoned for a series of seasonal capitals on the northern border of China. And most importantly, Qubilai completed the adaptation of Buddhism to imperial needs, begun two decades earlier by Mongke.

As Kenneth Ch'en has said, the needs of a ruling barbarian dynasty in China were three-fold. If the barbarin dynasty was to succeed in organizing and administering the Chinese state, the huge, dispersed mass of native Chinese had to be either coerced or cajoled into cooperation with the rulers. Co-optation of popular Buddhism seemed one way of appealing to the mass in their own language. Secondly, the Confucian and Taoist philosophies, by their basic doctrines posed a strict dichotomy between Chinese and barbarian. These two systems were closed to manipulation by barbarians by their basic nature. Buddhism posed no such dichotomy. Instead it permitted a means of cros-

sing social, political, and religious lines by anyone. Third, in a time of serious disorder, such as the late Sung, Confucianism was traditionally in disrepute. The alternative of Buddhism offered an acceptable solution for dissidents within China, despite its barbarian support.[43]

Qubilai understood these prerequisites for barbarian rule perhaps better than any other barbarian ruler until the Manchus in the sixteenth century. His unique perception came from a lifetime of campaigning in China. It also resulted from a well-attested intellectual brilliance compounded of equal parts of barbarian objectivity and Chinese education. In religious matters, his understanding of the fine points of dogma had come from acting as arbiter in the Taoist-Buddhist debate after 1256 A. D.

But by 1256 A. D., Qubilai was already middle-aged, at least forty years of age. His Buddhism had already been shaped in the context of the Turco-Mongol Buddhism of the steppe. Assuming that Qubilai's formative years were spent in the *ordu* of his father and grandfather, it is worth looking again at the context of steppe Buddhism during his early years to capture the impressions to which he was exposed.

Temple construction was not new to the steppe of the Mongol imperial period. As has been pointed out above, Kitan temples of the tenth and eleventh centuries still dotted the landscape from Karakorum to the Khingan. In the early Mongol period (circa 1240) Karakorum was the only fixed urban center, with wooden buildings and permanent temples. Outside Karakorum other centers, such as Shira Ordu, were resplendent, but moveable cities accom-

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43. Ch'en, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

panying the Great Qagan or lesser lords in their seasonal migrations.

At Karakorum, temple building began with the reign of the second Qagan, Ögödei,[44] although Kitan temple buildings were still present. These temples were presided over by western monks, Uygurs, or monks from Kashmir such as Na-mo.[45] Rubruck has left a vivid description of interiors of these "pagan" temples, their ceremonials, and the ubiquity of Buddhist monks in the streets.[46]

The visual impact of Buddhism must also have been felt by the Mongol steppe dwellers so new to what Olschki calls "ostentatious sumptuousness :"

> ". . . with their colossal image of Buddha, the 'beautifully gilt' statues of gods and saints, the tables and bearing lamps and offerings, the big bells and flagstaffs rising above the whole city . . ."[47]

Möngke continued the construction begun by Ögödei with the ordering of a Buddhist stupa of three levels in the latter part of his reign, probably after the Taoist-Buddhist debates of 1255-1256 A. D.[48]

Princes of the blood, exposed thusly by sight and sound to Buddhism, must also have had a degree of expo-

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44. Leonardo Olschki, *Guillaume Boucher : A French Artist at the Court of the Khans* (Baltimore : Johns Hopkins Press, 1946) p. 11.
45. Henry H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century* (New York : Burt Franklin, 1927), part IV, p. 129.
46. Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 139.
47. Olschki, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
48. Paul Pelliot, "Note sur Karakorum, "*Journal Asiatique*, (April-June, 1925), CCVI, No. 2, p. 372.

sure to Buddhist texts under the influence of their Uygur tutors. Few, if any until after the reign of Qubilai read Chinese texts, or were taught by Chinese tutors. The often made assertion that Qubilai sinified the Yüan dynasty because of his long exposure to Chinese civilization ignores the fact that he could not understand Chinese well, if at all, and may not have been able to write it.[49]

Placing Qubilai in constant communication with either the "civilization" of Karakorum or that of China is difficult. His early life is little known. Texts of his century rarely mention him prior to his election as Great Qagan in 1260 A. D. There are indications that Qubilai held an important place in the administrative functions of Karakorum prior to 1260 A. D.

The record of his life begins with semi-apocryphal reports of his relationship with Chinggis Qagan. When the Great Qagan returned from the Khwarezmian campaign in 1224 A. D. he was met at the Emil River in Tarbagatai by a host which included his grandsons Qubilai, then eleven years of age, and Qulagu, then nine. The two had only then killed their first game, Qubilai a hare. Chinggis "consecrated" the kill by rubbing the children's middle fingers with fat from their kills.[50]

Three years later, at the death of Chinggis, the Great Qugan, in his dying breath again thought of Qubilai :

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49. Herbert Franke, "Could the Mongol Emperors Read and Write Chinese ?" *Asia Major*, New Series (1952-53), Vol. III, Pt. 1, p. 30.

50. Rene Grousset, *Conqueror of the World* (New York : Orion Press, 1966), p. 262. Translated from the French by Marian Mckellar and Denis Sinor.

The words of the boy Qubilai have emerged most remarkably.

Act all of ye in accordance with his word in all regards.

What crime will it be to make everybody happy,
Like I was in life at some time in the furture.[51]

This story of Qubilai's early years appears in a sixteenth century work of Sagang Sechen, admittedly an apologist for Qubilai. The two stories are the only mention of him in his early years. Traditionally, his date of birth is given as 1215 A. D. He would have been twelve years of age at the death of Chinggis, and 27 at the time of his next mention in 1242 A. D.

During the intervening years Qubilai most probably obeyed the wishes of his capable mother, Sorqoqtani, the wife of Tolui. At Tolui's death in 1232-33 A. D., Rashid al-Din Tabib reports that Sorqoqtani and her sons were in attendance to the Great Qagan Ögödei. This must be simply a means of expressing her obedience to the Qagan, as the record indicates she resided at her fief on the Onon River east of Karakorum[52] and not at Karakorum itself.

Curiously, Qubilai did not participate in the great campaigns against the Chin dynasty and the western world

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51. Sagang Sechen, *Qad-un ündüsün-ü Erdeni-yin Tobchi* [*The Bejewelled Summary of the Origin of the Khans. A History of the Eastern Mongols to 1662.*] Bloomington : The Mongolia Society, 1967), p. 70. Translated by John R. Krueger.
52. Rashid-al Din Tabib, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, (New York: Columbia University pr., (1971), p. 247. Translated by John Andrew Boyle.

in the period from 1235 to 1241 A. D., despite the fact that he was in his late twenties. His elder brother Möngke took part in all these wars, while Qubilai remained in Karakorum. Because he became important in the organization of the imperial advisory council after 1242 A. D., is an inference that he was Ögödei's chief-of-state during the building of Karakorum.

After 1242 A. D., Qubilai began to add a Chinese influence to the predominant western Asian cast of the capital's administration. That year he invited a Ch'an Buddhist, Liu Ping-chung to court as an advisor. Shortly, he became Qubilai's chief advisor.[53] This coincided with the death of Ögödei, the regency of the hateful Töregene, and the fall of most of Ögödei's non-Chinese advisors, such as Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, Mas'ud Yalavach, and Körgüz.[54]

From 1242 A. D. until Qubilai began construction of his *ordu* summer capital at Shang-tu, a continuous stream of Chinese administrators trekked to Karakorum. Liu Ping-chung was instrumental in assuring a welcome reception for these men by his adept intercession as mediator between Chinese and Mongols.

In this international city where Europeans, Russians, Persians, Indians, Chinese, Uygurs and native Mongols mixed rather hesitantly, always in the shadow of the political struggles between the sons and grandsons of Chinggis,

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53. Chan Hok-lam, "Liu Ping-chung (1216-74), A Buddhist Taoist Statesman at the Court of Karakorum," *T'oung Pao*, (1967), Vol. LIII, p. 100.

54. Grousset, *Empire*, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

it is too easy to give more weight to on faction, such as these Chinese advisors, than is their due. But these men were without doubt the most responsible for Qubilai's grasp of Chinese affairs prior to his conquest of the southern Sung. All were administrators rather than scholar officials or monks, but each imparted some degree of Buddhism, Taoism, or Confucian doctrine. It must not be forgotten that Qubilai also staffed the Yüan bureaucracy with many western officials.

The list of Chinese administrators before 1260 A. D. includes many personally recommended by Liu Ping-chung such as the Ch'an monk Has-yün, and Sung Yin-chien. The Confucian expert Chang Te-hui, also came in 1247 A. D., and returned in 1252 A. D. with Yüan Hao-wen, and obliged Qubilai with the title Great Patriarch of Confucius.[55]

The advisory corps was Qubilai's to command and went with him in 1251 A. D. to his new fief capital at Chien-lien-ch'uan in Chahar. Möngke was Qagan by this time and, as has been shown, was much partial to Nestorianism in this first year of his reign. Although a frequent visitor to Karakorum after the move to Chien-lien-ch'uan, Qubilai was from then on largely independent of Karakorm.

Chinese advisors notwithstanding, Qubilai obviously favored a non-Chinese form of Buddhism, as will be shown. Their influence did not overcome his predilection for the western Tibets-Uygur lamaist religion to which he had been exposed in his early life. None of the influential people

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55. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

around him in those years were Chinese or, for that matter Chinese Buddhist. His mother, Sorqoqtani, and his chief wives, all were Nestorian or western Buddhist.[56]

Qubilai emerges from the foregoing, not as an apologist for, or a captive of Chinese civilization, but rather as an eclectic man, familiar with the lavers of power in China. Opportunistic in all things, he behaved according to the dictates of Chinese society, while improving the model of previous barbarian conquerors. He was the first barbarian to conquer all of China but the dual pattern of rule, and the use of Buddhism as a countervailing force to Confucianism were old methods, dating back to the Wei dynasty.

Unfortunately, the sect of Buddhism chosen by him proved unpalatable to the ruling class of China. Despite the proliferation of sects in the T'ang, the western form was foreign still to China in the thirteenth century. Under Qubilai the gap was bridged by the emperor's understanding of the need to propitiate all the contending factions, even the Taoists for which he had so much animosity. At his death in 1294 A. D., his successors, educated in China by Chinese, failed to understand this need and allowed the careful balance of all faiths to be overwhelmed by western Buddhism.

Qubilai's alliance with western Buddhism is more important for latter Mongol and Tibetan history than it is for that of China. The principles laid down by him for harmonious interaction between church and state, were revived in the sixteenth century and from then carried through to the twentieth century in the Mongol homeland.

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56. Rashid al-Din Tabib, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-245.

Although a universal monarch in China, Qubilai conceived a narrow, barbarian definition of church-state relationships. His was the same position as that of the Wei emperors. The need for a non-Confucian ethic was great, but the need for imperial control of that ethical system was ever greater. Without control, the loyalty of believers to church could exceed that of ruled-to-ruler and thus threaten imperial rule.

Qubilai had proven himself a friend of Buddhism prior to the conquest of the Southern Sung. Once Möngke had tired of the on-going debate between Taoists and Buddhists, Qubilai had been appointed arbiter. The debates before Möngke had occurrd in Karakorum, but by the time of the 1258 A. D. debate, the site had been moved to Qbilai's capital at Shang-tu.[57] The cast of characters had changed. The western Buddhists were not in command. Of those in attendance, 300 were Buddhist, 200 Taoist, and 200 Confucian. The old Taoist leader Li Chih-ch'ang had been so humiliated at the 1255 A. D. debate, he had retired and had been replaced by Chang Chih-ching. The Buddhists were represented Fu-yü[58]

As before, Taoist intransigence over the interpretation of false texts caused Qubilai to judge them in error. The judgment on this occasion was more severe than at the previous debate. Chinggis' mandate to the Taoists for take-over of many monasteries was reversed. Buddhist zealots gained the full weight of Qubilai's authority in their cam-

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57. Ten Broeck, Janet Rinaker, and Yiu Tung, "Taoist Inscriptions of the Yuan Dynasty : the Tao-chiao Pei," *T'oung Pao* (1951). Vol. XL, p. 63.
58. Chan Hok-lam, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

paign against their enemies. Taoists were ousted from monasteries. Buddhist statuary, destroyed or defaced before, was restored, and edicts against Taoist practices proclaimed. Qubilai's hostile attitude towards the Taoists reflected the Confucian attitudes of his Chinese advisors. It also reflected his own Buddhist leaning and the growing influence of Tibetan Buddhism among the Mongols in north China.

As has been shown, Qubilai was familiar with western and Tibetan Buddhism from his early years, if only by residence and association with the new Mongol monastic community. Monks from the Tibetan Sa-skya-pa sect were present at the debates of 1255 A. D. and 1258 A.D.[59] One of the young monks was Hphags pa,[60] who was to play such a great role in the Yüan Dynasty.

Hphags pa, born in 1235 A.D., was already an important figure. The political role he was to play later on had already been established on a lesser scale by 1255 A. D. By that time he had become a political and spiritual advisor to Prince Godan [Küten], the second son of Ogödei. This prince, at one time a strong contender for the succession to Ogödei, had received Kansu as his fief, perhaps as early as 1233 A.D[61]. He had lived there more or less continuously after that time, with frequent absences on campaigns and returns Mongolia to participate in quriltais. It was only natural, even inevitable, that Godan would become involved in the

59. Grousset, *Empire, op. cit.*, p. 298.

60. His full title in Tibetan is Hgro mgron hphags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan.

61. Rashid al-Din Tabib, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

polities of nearby Tibet. Although the Tibetan history of the period, the *Red Annals*, describes the intrusion of Godan in terms of his conversion to Buddhism and protectorship of the faith, his role was not so benevolent nor peaceful.[62] Despite his sickly disposition, Godan was a vigorous commander in the field, leading at least five military campaigns into Tibet.[63] His involvement there was clearly in support of the Sa-skya-pa and its campaign to establish a priestly monarchy over the whole of Tibet.

How Godan became an adherent of the Sa-skya-pa is of course lost to history. Legend has it that he met with Sa-skya pandita (1182-1251 A. D.), one of the most famous and powerful of the abbots of the sect. The meeting took place in 1245 A. D. as Godan was returning from the election of Guyuk as Great Qagan. Godan was cured at that time of one of his many ills by the Sa-skya pandita's recitation of a Dharani. Out of gratitude, and most likely out of political need, the two became allies. Hphags pa was present at this meeting in 1246 A. D. and although only a very young boy, appears to have begun to work a substantial influence over Godan. So influential was he that he came highly recommended to Qubilai after 1260 A. D. as the Great Qagan and emperor of the Yuan began the systematic organization of his new dynasty. Part of his new organization centered on his concept of churchstate relations.

The usual assertion that Qubilai was converted by Hphags pa is misleading. Qubilai was already Buddhist

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62. Shoju Inaba, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
63. Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome, 1949), Vol. 2, p. 395.

and already familiar with western Buddhism. It is perhaps more correct to say that a political alliance was established between Qubilai and Hphags pa, one part of which involved Qubilai's adherence to the Sa-skya-pa sect of Tibetan Buddhism. From the Tibetan monk, Qubilai accepted the concept of a ruling duality in which two spheres operated coterminously, one the sacred, the other the secular. The two spheres were equal with a supreme authority at the apex of each. Qubilai as could be expected, arrogated rule of the secular sphere to himself. He appointed Hphags pa to the position of ruler of the sacred sphere, moving him through a succession of administration positions, each of which increased his authority and eminence. He was appointed National Preceptor (Kuo Shih) in 1260 A. D., and Imperial Preceptor (Ti Shih) in 1270 A. D., and, in addition, served as "spiritual guide and refuge" to his "material patron," Qubilai. To further the alliance and the relationship, Hphaga pa's younger brother was designated ruler of Tibet in 1267 A. D.

The duality of rule obviously carried implicit dangers. Secular control of Tibet by the Sa-skya-pa carried no real danger for the emperor. But its spiritual authority within the Yuan empire did. Rule over the great monastic institution of China carried significant power. The thousands of monasteries had always been difficult to control politically and their economic power had never been successfully harnessed by the state. Under Qubilai, that power was increased as Hphags pa persuaded him to exempt all monasteries from taxation and the post station levy.

It was inevitable that a clash would develop over the dimensions of the authority of the two spheres. The question of sacred of versus secular power hinged on

which of the two hierarchs was ultimately superior to the other. The question was a two-fold one : if Hphags pa was the "spiritual guide and refuge" to Qubilai, was not his authority supreme ? If Qubilai was the "patron" of Hphags pa, was not his the superior force ? The resolution of this dispute was instrumental in the dovelopment of the dual principle [in Mongol, *qoyar yosun*, two principles, or dual principle]. The accepted definition of the powers of each sphere in turn influenced the later role of Buddhism in post-Yuan Mongolia and thus the history of the later Mongols down to the twentieth century.

The dispute between the two is clouded by later historical development but the definition agreed upon at that earlier date is relatively clear. According to the *White History [Chagan Teuke]*, a Mongol historical text, which exists in a sixteeth century copy of the original thirteenth century work, the terms of the union of church and state are unequivocal; the definitions of terms are not :

> For the intorduction of quiet and peace in the whole empire of the five colors. including the four foreign ones (non-Mongol; Tr.), Qubilai Chakravatin, the wise emperor, beginning with the laws of the three Chakravatin of Tibet, put into practice infallibly two principles, establishing anew as an example : that the lama is the root of the high religion and the lord of the doctrine; the emperor—the head of the empire and the master of the secular power. The laws of the true doctrine, like the sacred cord, cannot be weakened; the laws of the great emperor, like the golden yoke, are indestructible.

This enunclation fails to record the practical clash of wills that took place between the emperor and his "guide." Instead, their dialogue is contained, in veiled fashion, in

another Mongol chronicle, the *Erdeni-yin Tobchi* (in its longer title, *Qad-un undusun-u Erdeni-yin Tobchi,* or *Bejewelled Summary of the Origin of Khans*), written in the seventeenth century.

> Then the nephew of Saskya Pandita called Madi dhvajava [Hphags pa], born in the *I*-Sheep year [1235], came together with his uncle in the *Ting*-Sheep year [1247] when he was thirteen years of age. At the age of thirty in the *Ka*-Mouse year [1264], the qubilganic lady, Cambui Gooa, of the Holy Qubilai the Wise Khan, said, 'As for this Madi Dhvajava, he is the repository of our holy sublime lama. Let us take from him the glorious *yi-dam* He vajra abhiseka-blessing,' and when Cambui Queen reported this to the Khan, the Khan said, 'Though this statement is correct, how am I to sit lower than a small child ? Inquire of this child. If the abhiseka may be taken, I sitting on my throne and this child sitting below, I shall take it. If this cannot be, how am I to take the abhiseka-blessing ?'
>
> Then the Queen went and reported the King's command to Madi Dhvajava, and he declaimed : 'In general, the first is to perform making perfection, letting enter the door of the Vajra-vehicle by the abhiseka-consecration, and second, to perform the resolution; these are the two classes (of things). Inasmuch as [I am] clearly being the Vajradhara, the greatly meritorious lama who causes to be found the bodhi-sanctity, how can I sit lower than the king ?' he said. When the two parties could not reconcile their utterances, Cambui Queen's mind was greatly troubled. 'Now then, if, when preaching the doctrine or bestowing an abhiseka-consecration, the lama sits on the dais, and the king beneath, and when conducting affairs of state, the lama and Khan sit equally on the dais, how would that be ?', she said, and both agreed and said, 'So be it.'

Thus, Hphags pa and his successors functioned as priests but also as heads of the sacred realm, while Qubilai and the later Yuan emperors were the givers of alms to the church at the same time they were heads of the state. This unparalleled church power was eventually the undoing of Buddhism in China, as it led to the church being closely identified with the Mongol Yüan excesses of the foureenth century, When the Yüan fell, the church was soon weakened in the widespread "anti-foreign" isolationism under the Ming.

The concept of the dual principle ended with the Yüan. It was not continued under the later Northern Yüan dynasty after 1368 A. D., nor were the Buddhist hierarchs in China under the Ming allowed so much power or authority. But the ideal of the dual principle was preserved in both Mongol and Tibetan literature.

The Qagans of the Northern Yüan allowed the doctrine of the dual principle to lapse after the expulsion of the Mongols from China in 1368 A. D., as had other earlier barbarian dynasties after their exit from China. The need had ended for a countervailing philosophy to Confucianism.

Buddhism had not become widespread in Mongolia proper during the Yüan except in the imperial city of Karakorum and its immediate environs. As in past historical periods, the Mongol Buddhist monuments were associated with fixed urban sites. Those sites were then abandoned after 1368 A. D. in the face of repeated military invasions by Ming armies. Buddhist doctrine, written texts, statuary, and monastic communities were abandoned in the gradual reversion to tribalism that accompanied the Mongol retreat from the Inner Asian frontier with China.



Khajuraho, Kandariya Mahadeva temple, south *Kapite* with enigmatic orgiastic scenes.



Terracotta Plaque, Kauśāmbī, Ist C.B.C.
Courtesy : Sri G. K. Kanoria, Patna.

A KAUŚĀMBĪ TERRACOTTA PLAQUE REPRESENTING RĀJYA-LAKṢMĪ

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

Allahabad

The author throws light on a Kauśāmbī terracotta plaque of Śrī-Lakṣmī with Chatra over her head and identifies it with Rājya-Lakṣmī as referred to in Indianclassical literature.

The private collection of Sri G. K. Kanoria of Patna includes a very beautiful terracotta plaque representing the goddess Śrī-Lakṣmī. Prompted with my article '*Lakṣmī Tere Rūpa Aneka*' published in the Dīpāvalī issue of *Navanīta*, the Hindi Digest (Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavana, Bombay, Vol. XXIX, No. 11, November 1980) Śrī Kanoria have, very kindly sent to me a very nice and clear photograph of the plaque along with its details.

Although the plaque is broken at three places, it portrays its full view. The goddess stands on a full-blown lotus and holds a lotus flower in her right hand. This composition marks her Padmasthā and Padma-hastā form[1].

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1. *Caturvarga-Cintāmaṇi*, Virāṭa khaṇḍa, p. 76 : *padmasthā padma-hastā ca gajotkṣiptā ghaṭaplutā* vide K. K. Thaplyal, 'Gaja-Lakṣmī on Seals', *Lakṣmī & Sarasvatī in Art & Literature*, (ed. D. C. Sircar), Calcutta, 1970, p. 112, fn. 1.

She keeps her left hand on her waist which represents her in *kaṭyavalambita* posture. The goddess is flanked by a *cāmara*-bearing maiden on her either side. The maid attendant on the right to the goddess also holds over her head an umbrella or *chatra* decorated with lotus-patterns, conforming to the description of *Padmālapatra* (umbrella made of lotuses) of Kālidāsa[2]. Similar representations of parasol are found in the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana art of Bharhut[3], Sāñcī[4], Mathurā[5], etc. The body above the waist of the maiden on the left to the goddess and legs of the other on her right are broken and missing.

The goddess and her maid-attendants are beautifully ornamented and well-dressed. They wear short, heavy and twisted necklaces. The goddess also wears a thin and long *hāra* hanging over her breasts and large circular *kuṇḍalas* on her ears. She also appears to have a stomach-band ornament made of many strings. The goddess has a double *mekhalā* around her waist. Her thighs are also decorated with a similar ornament which is also noticeable on the famous terracotta panel from Tāmluk[6]. Double bracelets and single anklets decorate the hands and feet of the goddess.

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2. *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV. 5 : *Chāyāmaṇḍala-lakṣyeṇa tamadṛśyā kila svayam, Padmā padmātapatreṇa bheje sāmrājyadīkṣitam.*
3. See Cunningham, A., *Stūpa of Bharhut*, Varanasi 1962, pls. XIII, XXVII, etc.
4. See Marshall & Others, *Monuments of Sāñchī*, vol. 2, pls. XXV, XXX (NG), LVI (WG); vol. 3, pls. LXXIX (pillar no. 26b), LXXXVII (pillar no. 71a).
5. See Smith, V. A., *The Jaina Stūpa at Mathurā*, Allahabad 1901, pls. XIV, XVII.
6. See Sarasvati, S. K., *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, Calcutta, 1957. pl. XIX, Fig. 15.



2



The head-dress of the goddess is very elaborate and profusely ornamented. It is distinguished by two prominent side-rolls of a turban flanking a central butterfly-like projection. There are five flowery streaks struck on left side-roll and the equal number of sacred symbols on the right; the lower two, the *aṅkuśa* (goad) and *paraśu* (battle-axe) are quite distinct[7].

The goddess as well as her attendants wear transparent *sārī* and that is why their private part is quite visible. The goddess also wraps her body with an *uttarīya* or scarf which is clearly visible on her arms.

With her large and round breasts the goddess seems to belong to the catagory of the *nyagrodhaparimaṇḍalā*[8]. The bulkiness of the body, heavy ornaments, prominent coiffures and the execution of the private part of the goddess as well as the maid-attendents are quite noteworthy features in assigning the terracotta plaque to the first century B. C.[9]

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7. This fashion of decoration with some projections in the form of some symbols was very popular among the females at Kauśāmbī. See Kala, S. C., *Terracotta Figurines From Kauśāmbī*, Allahabad 1950, pls. IVa, Va, Vb, Vc, XIV A2, etc. Terracottas representing female figures with this type of the head-dress have also been found from Ahicchatrā (see V. S. Agrawala, 'Terracotta Figurines from Ahicchatrā,' *Ancient India*, No. 4) and Aṅgaikherā, Distt. Hardoi, U. P. (Private Collection of Dr. Jagdish Gupta, Allahabad).
8. *Hārāvalī* as quoted in *Śabdakalpadruma*, vol. III, Varanasi 1967, p. 929 : *Stanau sukaṭhinau yasyā nitambe ca viśālatā 1*
Madhye kṣīṇā bhaved yā sā nyagrodha-parimaṇḍalā 11
9. Similar representation of the goddess is also found on some terracotta fragments from Kauśāmbī (see Kala, S. C., *Terracottas in the Allahabad Museum*, New Delhi 1980, Figs. 23, 24, 92; Kala.

This pleasing representation of the goddess appears to have truly demonstrated the śāstric form of Lakṣmī, contained in different *śilpa*-texts. The image of Lakṣmī, according to the *Matsya Purāṇa*[10], *Śilpa-ratna*[11] and *Dhyānamālā*[12], should be carved in association with two flanking maidens bearing fly-whisk. The *Mānasollāsa*[13] also describes the goddess as flanked by *cāmara*-bearing maidens besides her being anointed by two elephants.

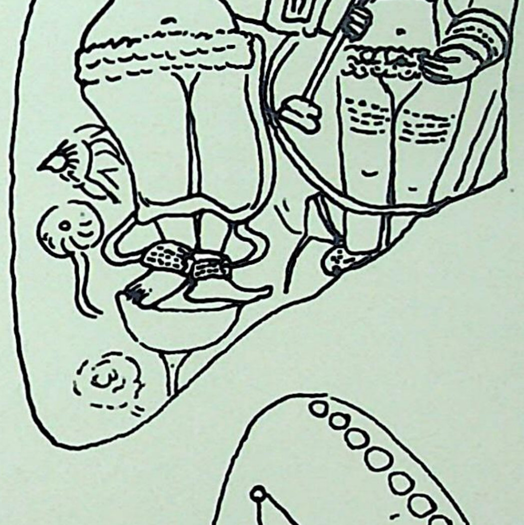
Although the carving of a parasol or *chatra* over the head of the goddess Śrī-Lakṣmī has not been prescribed in the *śilpa* texts on architecture and sculpture, yet in the *Raghuvaṃśa*[14], we find a reference to it when the goddess is

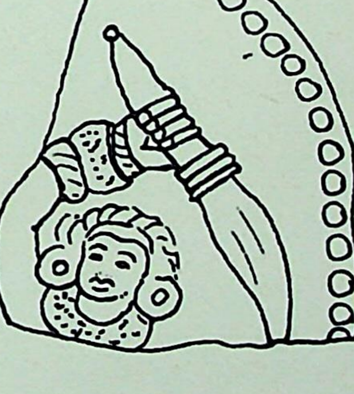
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S. C., *Terracotta Figurines From Kauśāmbī*, *op. cit.*, No. 150, p. 35) and Lauriyā-Nandangaṛh (see Mukhopadhyaya, S. K., 'Terracottas From Lauriyā-Nandangaṛh in the Indian Museum, Calcutta', *Lalit Kalā*, No. 18, 1977, p. 33, pl. III a and b). The face, features, ornaments, coiffures, parasol, postures and decorative border of these plaques are so similar to the one under discussion that all of them seem to belong to one and the same school and even to the similar moulds. It is certain that individually every fragment cannot testify to the representation of Rājya-Lakṣmī but if taken together, they will surely portray the composition of the goddess in question.

10. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 260.45 : *Pārśve tasyāstriyaḥ kāryāścāmaravyagrapāṇayaḥ.*
11. *Śilpa-ratna* vide Rao, TAG, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. I, pt. II, App. C, p. 134 : *Cāmarair-vījyamānām ca yoṣidbhyāṃ pārśvayodvayoḥ.*
12. *Dhyānamālā*, folio 33 vide K. S. Behera, 'Lakṣmī in Orissan Art & Literature', *Lakṣmī & Sarasvatī in Indian Art & Literature*, ed. by D. C. Sircar, Calcutta 1970, p. 94, fn 7.
13. *Mīnasollāsa*, I. 97 : *Cāmarair-vījyamānāṃ ca yoṣidbhyāṃ pārśvayodvayoḥ,*
Sāmajaiḥ snāpyamānāṃ ca sṛṅgārasalilotkaraiḥ.
14. *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV. 5.

3





4

described as an attendant standing behind the king Raghu and holding over him a parasol made of lotus flowers.

Now, since we know that *cāmara* or fly-whisk and *chatra* or parasol are royal insignia and therefore the identification of the goddess having these attributes with Rājya-Lakṣmī appears to be quite convincing[15].

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15. For full details about Rājya-Lakṣmī in art and literature see author's article 'The Conception of Rājya-Lakṣmī and Her Plastic Representation in Indian Art' published in the *Prof. K. K. Handiqui Felicitation Volume* (Kāmarūpa Anusandhāna Samiti, Gauhati, 1982), and *Maru Bhāratī*, Vol. XXX, No. 2.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Photo—Rājya-Lakṣmī, Terracotta, Kauśāmbī, Ist. century B. C.
(Courtesy Sri G. K. Kanoria, Patna)

Line-drawings—

1. Rājya-Lakṣmī, Terracotta, Kauśāmbī, Ist. Century B. C. (G. K. Kanoria, Patna, Private Collection)

2-4. Rājya-Lakṣmī, Terracottas, Kauśāmbī, Allahabad Museum. (After Dr. S. C. Kala, *Terracottas in the Allahabad Museum*, Figs. 23, 24 and 92)

निरुक्तगत लाक्षणिक प्रयोग : एक विवेचन*

डा० मानसिंह

शिमला

Yāska (8th or 7th century B.C.) was fully aware of the importance and functioning of the *Lakṣaṇā Vṛtti* though he has not discussed it in detail. He has used the word *bhakti* in the sense of conveying the *amukhya* (secondary) or *gauṇa* meaning. *Lakṣaṇās* as *nirūḍhā* and *prayojanavatī* are divided each into *śuddhā* and *gauṇī* of which the *śuddhā prayojanavatī* is again of four kinds –*Upādāna*—, *lakṣaṇā*—, *sāropā*—and *sādhyavasānā*. The *gauṇī prayojanavatī Lakṣaṇā* is of two kinds—*sāropā* and *sādhyavasānā*. The author hereby brings to light the various uses of *Lakṣaṇā* found in Yāska's *Nirukta*.

वक्ता के तात्पर्य की अनुपपत्ति की स्थिति में 'लक्षणा' नामक शब्द-व्यापार का आश्रय लिया जाता है ।[1] वक्ता किसी तात्पर्यविशेष के सम्प्रेषणार्थ शब्दों का प्रयोग

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* श्रीगङ्गानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत-विद्यापीठ, प्रयाग में मार्च २६, १६७६ को दिया गया विशिष्ट व्याख्यान ।

१. द्रष्टव्य विश्वनाथ पञ्चानन भट्टाचार्य, न्यायसिद्धान्तमुक्तावली (वाराणसी: चौखम्भा विद्याभवन, सं० हरिराम शुक्ल, तृतीय संस्करण, १६७२), शब्दखण्ड, पृ० २८५ : "लक्षणा शक्यसम्बन्धः तात्पर्यानुपपत्तितः।" प्रायः आलंकारिकों ने लक्षणाश्रयणके कारण का निर्देश न करते हुए लक्षणा-प्रक्रिया ही का विवेचन किया है। उदाहरणार्थ आचार्य मम्मटकृत लक्षणा-लक्षण है—

मुख्यार्थबाधे तद्योगे रूढितोऽथ प्रयोजनात्।
अन्योऽर्थो लक्ष्यते यत्सा लक्षणाऽऽरोपिता क्रिया।।

(काव्यप्रकाश २।६)

अन्य आचार्यों ने भी प्रायः इसी प्रकार का लक्षण किया है। यथा विश्वनाथ, साहित्यदर्पण, २।५ ; हेमचन्द्र, काव्यानुशासन (बम्बई : श्री महावीर जैन विद्यालय, सं० रसिकलाल छोटालाल पारिख तथा बी०एम० कुलकर्णी, द्वितीय संस्करण), पृ० ५८, ६६। यहाँ 'मुख्यार्थबाध' में 'बाध' का आशय माणिक्यचन्द्र आदि ने अनुपपत्ति तथा अनुपयोग माना है। (द्रष्टव्य काव्यप्रकाश संकेत पूना आनन्दाश्रम-ग्रन्थावलि, ग्रन्थांक ८६,१६२१, पृ० १६ : "मुख्यार्थस्यानुपपत्तेरनुपयोगाच्च प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणेन बाधे मुख्यार्थेन सह. . ."), जो अयुक्त है, क्योंकि 'काकेभ्यो दधि रक्ष्यताम्' (कौओं, अर्थात् कौओं के साथ-साथ दही खराब करने वाले सभी प्राणियों से दही की रक्षा करो) आदि उपादान अथवा अजहत्स्वार्था लक्षणा के उदाहरणों

करता है। यदि उन शब्दों के साक्षात्संकेतित (शक्य, मुख्य अथवा वाच्य) अर्थ[2] से उसका तात्पर्य अर्थात् अभीप्सित अर्थ[3] नहीं आ पाता तो उसके तात्पर्य के ग्रहणार्थ श्रोता आदि को शक्ति, समय, संकेत, अभिधा आदि नामों से अभिधेय शब्द-व्यापार को छोड़-कर लक्षणा अथवा जघन्या नाम्नी शब्द-वृत्ति की शरण लेनी पड़ती है। इस प्रकार लक्षणा का बीज तात्पर्य की अनुपपत्ति है।[4] मुख्यार्थ से तात्पर्य न आने की स्थिति में रूढ़ि (लोक-प्रसिद्धि, प्रयोग-प्रवाह) अथवा प्रयोजनविशेष के कारण वक्ता के तात्पर्य को

में मुख्यार्थ की अनुपपत्ति तथा अनुपयोग नहीं होता । वस्तुतः 'बाध' का अभि-प्राय यहाँ वक्तृतात्पर्याविषयत्व (वक्ता के तात्पर्य का विषय न होना) लिया जाना चाहिए ।

२. साक्षात्संकेतित अर्थ शक्तिग्रह के कारण आता है। शक्तिग्रह के हेतु ये माने गए हैं-- व्याकरण, कोश, उपमान (उपमा), आप्तोक्ति (आप्तवाक्य), व्यवहार, वाक्यशेष, विवृत्ति तथा सिद्ध पद का सान्निध्य । द्रष्टव्य केशवमिश्र (**अलंकार-शेखर**, बम्बई : निर्णय सागर प्रेस, काव्यमाला ५०,१९२६, मरीचि ३, पृ० ९) द्वारा उद्धृत यह कारिका--

कोशव्याकरणाप्तोक्तिवाक्यशेषोपमादितः ।
प्रसिद्धपदसम्बन्धाद् व्यवहाराच्च बुध्यते ।।

इनका संग्रह निम्न कारिका में भी उपलब्ध है--

शक्तिग्रहं व्याकरणोपमानकोशाप्तवाक्याद् व्यवहारतश्च ।
वाक्यस्य शेषाद् विवृतेर्वदन्ति सान्निध्यतः सिद्धपदस्य वृद्धाः ।।

३. न्यायग्रन्थों में 'तात्पर्य' का लक्षण 'वक्ता की इच्छा' के रूप में किया गया है ; यथा विश्वनाथ पञ्चानन भट्टाचार्य, **पूर्वोद्धृत ग्रन्थ**, शब्दखण्ड, पृ० ३१५ : "**वक्तुरिच्छा तु तात्पर्यम्** ।" वस्तुतः, जैसा कि न्यायग्रन्थों में 'तात्पर्य' के स्वरूप-विवेचन से सुत-राम् स्पष्ट है, 'तात्पर्य' वक्ता की इच्छामात्र नहीं अपितु उसके द्वारा अभीप्सित अर्थ है । द्रष्टव्य **तदेव**, शब्दखण्ड, पृ ३१५–१७ ; सुरेन्द्र शिवदास बार्लिंगे, Meaning, Use and Intention, *Indian Philosophical Review* १९७१, नं. १।

४. तात्पर्यानुपपत्ति को ही लक्षणा का बीज माना जाना चाहिए, अन्वयानुपपत्ति को नहीं । अन्वयानुपपत्ति की स्थिति ही में लक्षणा मानने पर 'काकेभ्यो दधि रक्ष्यताम्' आदि वाक्यों में लक्षणा का उत्थान ही नहीं होगा, क्योंकि यहाँ अन्वय भी अभीष्ट है। द्रष्टव्य नागेशभट्ट, **वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तपरमलघुमञ्जूषा** (कुरुक्षेत्र: कुरुक्षेत्र विश्ववि-द्यालय प्रकाशन, सं० कपिलदेव शास्त्री, १९७५), पृ० ६८ : "वस्तुतस्तु तात्पर्यानुपपत्ति-प्रतिसन्धानमेव तद्बीजम्। अन्यथा 'गङ्गायां घोषः' इत्यादौ 'घोष' आदिपदे मकरादिल-क्षणापत्तिः, तावताप्यन्वयानुपपत्तिपरिहारात्, 'गङ्गायां पापी गच्छति' इत्यादौ 'गङ्गा'-पदस्य नरके लक्षणापत्तेश्च । अस्माकं तु भूतपूर्वपापावच्छिन्नलक्षकत्वे तात्पर्यान्न दोषः।" "**नक्षत्रं दृष्ट्वा वाचं विसृजेत्**" इत्यत्र अन्वयसम्भवेऽपि तात्पर्यानुपपत्त्यैव लक्षणा-

वहन करने वाला उससे सम्बद्ध अन्य अर्थ ग्रहण कर लिया जाता है। रूढि अथवा प्रयोजनविशेष के कारण इस तद्युक्त अथवा तत्सम्बद्ध तात्पर्यभूत अन्य अर्थ को प्रदान करने वाली शब्द-वृत्ति ही 'लक्षणा' है। 'जघन्या', 'भक्ति' आदि इसी के अपर अभिधान हैं।

निरुक्तकार यास्क (अष्टम अथवा सप्तम शतक ई०पू०) ने यद्यपि लक्षणा-वृत्ति का स्वतन्त्र रूप से वर्णन एवं विवेचन नहीं किया है तथापि इस महत्त्वपूर्ण शब्द-व्यापार से वे सुपरिचित थे। उन्होंने अमुख्य अथवा गौण अर्थ के बोधनार्थ 'भक्ति' शब्द का प्रयोग किया है।[५] परवर्ती काव्यशास्त्र में 'भक्ति' लक्षणा के लिये एक सुप्रचलित अभिधान है।[६] भक्ति उपचार है।[७] न्यायसूत्रकार गौतम तथा भाष्यकार वात्स्यायन

स्वीकारात्।" धर्मराजाध्वरीन्द्र, **वेदान्तपरिभाषा** (वाराणसी: विद्याभवन संस्कृत ग्रन्थमाला, ग्रन्थांक १००, सं० गजानन शास्त्री मुसलगांवकर, प्रथम संस्करण, संवत् २०२०), **आगमपरिच्छेद**, पृ २१५ : "लक्षणाबीजं तु तात्पर्यानुपपत्तिरेव न त्वन्वयानुपपत्तिः। 'काकेभ्यो दधि रक्ष्यताम्' इत्यत्र अन्वयानुपपत्तेरभावात्। 'गङ्गायां घोषः' इत्यादौ तात्पर्यानुपपत्तेरपि सम्भवात्।" पण्डितराज जगन्नाथ, **रसगङ्गाधर**, आनन २ (वाराणसी: विद्याभवन संस्कृत ग्रन्थमाला, ग्रन्थांक ११, सं. मदनमोहन झा, भाग २, द्वितीय संस्करण, १९६९), पृ० १६२ : " तस्यास्त्वार्थोपस्थापकत्वे मुख्यार्थविच्छेदके तात्पर्यविषयान्वयितावच्छेदकताया अभावो न तन्त्रम्। शक्यतावच्छेदकरूपेण लक्ष्यमाणस्य स्वीकारात्। किंतु तात्पर्यविषयान्वये मुख्यार्थतावच्छेदकरूपेण मुख्यार्थप्रतियोगिकताया अभावो रूढिप्रयोजनयोरन्यतरच्च तन्त्रम्। मुख्यार्थान्वियानुपपत्तेः तन्त्रत्वे तु 'काकेभ्यो दधि रक्ष्यताम्' इत्यत्र लक्षणोत्थानं न स्यात् ।"

५. द्रष्टव्य **निरुक्त** ८।२: यथो एतत्तेषां पुनः पात्रस्येन्द्रपानमिति भवतीति **भक्ति**मात्रं तद् भवति। यथा वायव्यानीति सर्वेषां सोमपात्राणाम् ।" ८।२२: "आग्नेया इति स्थितिः । **भक्ति**मात्रमितरत्।"

६. तुलना कीजिए वामन, **काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति** १।१।१ की वृत्तिः "काव्यशब्दोऽयं गुणालङ्कारसंस्कृतयोः शब्दार्थयोर्वर्तते। **भक्त्या** तु शब्दार्थमात्रवचनोऽत्र गृह्यते।" **ध्वन्यालोक** (मद्रास : कुप्पुस्वामी शास्त्री शोध-संस्थान, अभिनवगुप्तरचित 'लोचन', उत्तुङ्गोदयकृत 'कौमुदी' तथा कुप्पुस्वामी द्वारा विरचित 'उपलोचन' सहित, सं० महामहोपाध्याय एस० कुप्पुस्वामी शास्त्री तथा टी० आर० चिंतामणि, उद्योत १,१९४४) १।१ ; १।१४ तथा उसकी आनन्दवर्धनकृत प्रस्तावना एवं वृत्ति, पृ० २५९–६२। द्रष्टव्य अभिनवगुप्त, **लोचन**, **ध्वन्यालोक** १।१, पृ० ६२–६३: भज्यते सेव्यते पदार्थेन प्रसिद्धतयोत्प्रेक्षत इति **भक्ति**र्धर्मः, अभिधेयेन सामीप्यादिः, तत आगतो भाक्तः लाक्षणिकोऽर्थः। . . . गुणसमुदायवृत्तेश्च शब्दस्यार्थभागस्तैक्ष्ण्यादिर्भक्तिः, तत आगतो गौणोऽर्थो **भाक्तः**। यास्क अभिधा-वृत्ति से भी परिचित हैं। उनका कथन है कि लोक में व्यवहार की सिद्धि के लिए छोटा होने से शब्द द्वारा पदार्थों का संज्ञाकरण किया जाता है: "व्याप्तिमत्त्वात्तु शब्दस्याणीयस्त्वाच्च शब्देन संज्ञाकरणं व्यवहारार्थं लोके।" (निरुक्त १।२)। 'संज्ञाकरण' यहाँ 'संकेतग्रहण' ही के लिए है (द्रष्टव्य पं० शिवनारायण शास्त्री, **निरुक्तमीमांसा**, दिल्ली, २०२६ वि., पृ० ४४६)।

७. द्रष्टव्य आनन्दवर्धन, **ध्वन्यालोक** १।१७क की वृत्ति, पृ. २५९: "**उपचारमात्रं तु भक्तिः**।" पृ० २६१–६२: "यत्र हि व्यञ्जकत्वकृतं महत् सौष्ठवं नास्ति तत्राप्युपचरितशब्दवृत्त्या प्रसिद्ध्यनुरोधप्रवर्तितव्यवहाराः कवयो दृश्यन्ते।"

के अनुसार किसी सम्बन्धविशेष के कारण किसी वस्तु का उसके अवाचक पद द्वारा व्यपदेश उपचार है।[8] आचार्य उद्द्योतकर[9] तथा मुकुलभट्ट[10] आदि भी इससे सहमत हैं। आलंकारिकों में आचार्य अभिनवगुप्त[11] तथा उत्तुंगोदय[12] प्रभृति भी इसी मत का अवलम्बन करते हैं। आचार्य मम्मट, विश्वनाथ, माणिक्यचन्द्र, गोविन्द तथा खुश्फहम् सिद्धिचन्द्रगणि उपचार को एक नवीन अर्थ प्रदान करते हैं ; उनके अनुसार दो अत्यन्त भिन्न पदार्थों में अतिशय सादृश्य के कारण भेद की प्रतीति न होना उपचार है।[13] आचार्य

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८. **न्यायसूत्र** (कलकत्ता : सं. जीवानन्द विद्यासागर, चतुर्थ संस्करण, १९१९) २।२।६४ : "...अतद्भावेऽपि तदुपचारः ।" द्रष्टव्य **वात्स्यायन-भाष्यः** "अतद्भावेऽपि तदुपचार इति, अतच्छब्दस्य तेन शब्देनाभिधानमिति ।" द्रष्टव्य **न्यायसूत्र** २।२।६१–६३ ; **वात्स्यायन-भाष्यः**, २।२।६३ की भूमिकाः "यदि न व्यक्तिः पदार्थः, कथं तर्हि व्यक्तावुपचार इति निमित्तादतद्भावेऽपि तदुपचारः खलु दृश्यते।" वस्तुतः 'उपचार' शब्द का मूल अर्थ 'शब्दप्रयोग' था। यास्क ने इसी अर्थ में इसका प्रयोग किया है (द्रष्टव्य **निरुक्त** १।४ : "नेति प्रतिषेधार्थीयो भाषायामुभयमन्वध्यायम्- --पुरस्तादुपचारस्तस्य यत् प्रतिषेधति। 'दु_र्मदा॑सो न सुरा॑याम्' (ऋग्वेद ८।२।१२) इत्युपमार्थीय उपरिष्टादुपचारस्तस्य येनोपमिमीते ।।)। 'गौण अर्थ में शब्दप्रयोग' उसका विकसित अर्थ है ।

९. **न्यायवार्त्तिक** २।२।६१ : निमित्तादतद्भावेऽपि तदुपचारः । ... यथा यष्टिकाशब्देन द्रव्यविशेषोऽभिधीयत इति यष्टिकाशब्दात्तु पुनः साहचर्याद् ब्राह्मणविशेषोऽभिधीयते । ... किं पुनरत्रोपचारबीजं यष्टिका ब्राह्मण इति। ... यष्टिकायां तावदयं यष्टिकाशब्दो जातिनिमित्तः यष्टिकात्वं जातिः सा यष्टिकायां वर्तते तया यष्टिकात्वयुक्तया यष्टिकया ब्राह्मणस्य योगः साहचर्यात् संयुक्तसमवेतां जातिं ब्राह्मणेऽध्यारोप्य ब्राह्मणं यष्टिकेत्याह। एवं शेषाण्युपचारबीजानि स्वयमुत्प्रेक्षणीयानि" [।

१०. **अभिधावृत्तिमातृका**, पृ० १६–१७ (**वृत्तिसमुच्चयः**, सं० ब्रह्ममित्र अवस्थी, दिल्ली : इन्दु प्रकाशन, १९७७) ।

११. द्रष्टव्य **ध्वन्यालोक** १।१७ पर **लोचन**, पृ २६० : "उपचारो गुणवृत्तिर्लक्षणा उपचरणमतिशयितो व्यवहार इत्यर्थः।"

१२. द्रष्टव्य **ध्वन्यालोक** १।१७ पर **कौमुदी**, पृ २६० : "उपचरणमिति। यस्मिन्नर्थे येन शब्देन व्यवहारः प्रसिद्धतमः तमतिलङ्घ्यान्यस्मिन् समीपस्थे कथंचित्तच्छब्दप्रवृत्तिद्वारको यो व्यवहारः स उपचारः गौणलाक्षणिकयोरर्थयोरपि अवशिष्ट एवेति उपचारशब्देन तदुभयसंग्रहो युक्त इत्यर्थः।"

१३. मम्मट, **काव्यप्रकाश** (पूना : भाण्डारकर प्राच्यविद्या-संशोधन-संस्थान, सं० आर० डी० करमरकर, वामनाचार्य रामभट्ट झलकीकर-कृत बालबोधिनी टीका सहित, १९५०), उल्लास २, पृ० ४६ : "उपचारेणामिश्रितत्वात्" ; विश्वनाथ, **काव्य-**

मम्मट इसके प्राक्तन अर्थ से भी परिचित हैं ।[14]

आचार्य मुकुलभट्ट उपचार के दो भेद मानते हैं— शुद्धोपचार तथा गौणोपचार। सादृश्य के कारण अन्य के लिये अन्य शब्द का प्रयोग 'गौणोपचार' है ; यथा 'गौर्वाहीकः' (वाहीकदेशवासी बैल है) में वाहीक देशवासी पुरुष में 'गौः' (बैल) के सदृश जाड्य-मान्द्य आदि गुणों का योग होने से सादृश्य-सम्बन्ध से उसके लिए 'गौः' शब्द का व्यवहार किया गया है । सादृश्यातिरिक्त कार्यकारणभाव आदि सम्बन्ध के कारण अन्य के लिये अन्य के प्रयोग को 'शुद्धोपचार' कहा जाता है ; यथा 'आयुर्घृतम्' (घृत आयु है) में कार्यकारणभाव सम्बन्ध से आयु के कारणभूत घृत के लिये 'आयुः' शब्द का प्रयोग किया गया है[15] । इस प्रकार आचार्य मुकुलभट्ट की दृष्टि से लक्ष्य तथा लक्षक में

प्रकाश-दर्पण ; **साहित्यदर्पण** (वाराणसी : विद्याभवन संस्कृत ग्रन्थमाला २६, सं० सत्यव्रत सिंह, १९५७), परिच्छेद २, पृ० ६६ : "उपचारो हि नामात्यन्तं विशकलितयोः शब्दयोः सादृश्यातिशयमहिम्ना भेदप्रतीतिस्थगनमात्रम्" ; खुश्फहम् सिद्धिचन्द्रगणि, **काव्यप्रकाशखण्डन** (बम्बई : सिंधी जैनशास्त्र विद्यापीठ, भारतीय विद्याभवन, सं० रसिकलाल छोटालाल पारिख, १९५३), उल्लास २, पृ० ८ : "उपचारश्च सादृश्येन सम्बन्धेन प्रवृत्तः भिन्नत्वेन प्रतीयमानयोरैक्यारोपणमिति वा" ; माणिक्यचन्द्र, **काव्यप्रकाश-संकेत** (पूना : आनन्दाश्रमग्रन्थावलि, ग्रन्थांक ८९, १९२१), पृ० १९ ; गोविन्द, **काव्यप्रदीप** (बम्बई : काव्यमाला २४, तृतीय संस्करण, १९३३), पृ० ३० : "उपचारश्च सादृश्यसम्बन्धेन प्रवृत्तिः । सादृश्यातिशयमहिम्ना भिन्नताप्रतीतिस्थगनं वा ।"

मम्मट आदि आचार्यों के विपरीत, एकावलीकार विद्याधर सभी सादृश्यातिरिक्त सम्बन्धों को उपचार के अन्तर्गत मानते हैं । उनके अनुसार गौणी लक्षणा में सादृश्य तो होता है (द्रष्टव्य **एकावली**, सं० के० पी० त्रिवेदी, पृ० ८ : "तत्र गौणी गुणव्यापारात् सादृश्यात्प्रवर्तते ।) ; किन्तु उसके मूल में उपचार नहीं होता । विद्याधर के मत में उपचार कार्यकारण, तादर्थ्य, स्वस्वामी, अवयवावयवी तथा तात्कर्म्य इन पाँच प्रकार के सम्बन्धों पर आधृत होता है । टीकाकार मल्लिनाथ के अनुसार उपचार अतत्त्व का तत्त्वेन व्यपदेश है : "अतत्त्वस्य तत्त्वेन व्यपदेश उपचारः", अर्थात् किसी वस्तु पर ऐसा गुण आरोपित कर देना जो वस्तुतः उससे सम्बद्ध न हो, उपचार है। द्रष्टव्य हरदत्त शर्मा: "The Meaning of उपचार according to Gotama and the Rhetoricians" *The Poona Orientalist*, भाग १, खण्ड १, एप्रिल १९३६, पृ० ३२–३३ ।

१४. **काव्यप्रकाश**, उल्लास २, पृ. ५३ : "क्वचित्तादर्थ्यादुपचारः" ; उल्लास ८, पृ. ४७८ : "**गुणवृत्या उपचारेण**"। आचार्य मम्मट द्वारा 'उपचार' शब्द का दो नितान्त भिन्न अर्थों में प्रयोग चिन्त्य है।

१५. द्रष्टव्य **अभिधावृत्तिमातृका**, पृ० १६–१७, १९ : "द्विविध उपचारः शुद्धो गौणश्च। तत्र शुद्धो यत्र मूलभूतस्योपमानोपमेयभावस्याभावेनोपमानगतगुणसदृशगुण-

दो ही प्रकार के सम्बन्ध बन सकते हैं––सादृश्यसम्बन्ध तथा सादृश्यभिन्न कार्यकारण-भाव आदि अन्य सम्बन्ध। न्यायसूत्रकार गोतम ने उपचार के सहचरण, स्थान, तादर्थ्य, वृत्त, मान, धारण, सामीप्य, योग, साधन, तथा आधिपत्य ये दश हेतु माने हैं[१६]। जैमिनि ने तत्सिद्धि, जाति, सारूप्य, प्रशंसा, बाहुल्य (भूमा), लिङ्ग समवाय, वाक्यशेष तथा अर्थ (सामर्थ्य) से कल्पना ये आठ उपचार के कारण स्वीकार किए हैं[१७]। पतञ्जलि तात्स्थ्य, ताद्धर्म्य, तत्सामीप्य, तथा तत्साहचर्य इन चार सम्बन्धों को हेतु मानते हैं[१८]। भर्तृहरि ने स्तुति, निन्दा आदि की प्रधानता होने पर लक्षणा को

योगलक्षणासम्भवात् कार्यकारणभावादिसम्बन्धाल्लक्षणया वस्त्वन्तरे वस्त्वन्तरमुपचर्यते। यथा 'आयुर्घृतम्' इति। अत्र ह्यायुषः कारणे घृते तद्गतकार्यकारणभावलक्षणापूर्वकत्वेनायुष्ट्वकार्य तच्छब्दश्चेत्युभयमुपचरितम्। तस्माच्छुद्धोऽयमुपचारः।

गौणः पुनरुपचारो यत्र मूलभूतोपमानोपमेयभावसमाश्रयेणोपमानगतगुणसदृशगुणयोगलक्षणां पुरःसरीकृत्योपमेये उपमानशब्दस्तदर्थश्चाध्यारोप्यते। स हि गुणेभ्य आगतत्वाद् गौणशब्देनाभिधीयते। यथा 'गौर्वाहीकः' इति। अत्र हि गोगतजाड्यमान्द्यादिगुणसदृशजाड्यमान्द्यादियोगाद् वाहीके गोशब्दगोत्वयोरुपचारः। केचित्तु उपचारे शब्दोपचारमेव मन्यन्ते नार्थोपचारम्। तदयुक्तम्। शब्दोपचारस्यार्थोपचाराविनाभावित्वात्। एवमयमुपचारः शुद्धगौणभेदेन द्विविधोऽभिहितः।

१६. **न्यायसूत्र** २।२।६४ : "सहचरणस्थानतादर्थ्यवृत्तमानधारणसामीप्ययोगसाधनाधिपत्येभ्यो ब्राह्मणमञ्चकटराजसक्तुचन्दनगङ्गाशाटकान्नपुरुषेष्वतद्भावेऽपि तदुपचारः। द्रष्टव्य **वात्स्यायन-भाष्य**:" अतद्भावेऽपि तदुपचार इति–अतच्छब्दस्य तेन शब्देनाभिधानमिति। सहचरणात्–यष्टिकां भोजयति, यष्टिकासहचरितो ब्राह्मणोऽभिधीयते। स्थानात्–मञ्चाः क्रोशन्तीति मञ्चस्थाः पुरुषा अभिधीयन्ते। तादर्थ्यात्––कटार्थेषु वीरणेषु व्यूह्यमानेषु कटं करोतीति भवति। वृत्ताद्–यमो राजा कुबेरो राजेति तद्वद् वर्तते इति। मानाद्–आढकेन मिताः सक्तवः आढकसक्तव इति। धारणात्–तुलायां धृतं चन्दनं तुलाचन्दनमिति। सामीप्याद्–गंगायां गावश्चरन्तीति देशोऽभिधीयते सन्निकृष्टः। योगात्–कृष्णेन रागेण युक्तः शाटकः कृष्ण इत्यभिधीयते। साधनात्–अन्नं प्राणा इति। अधिपत्यात्–अयं पुरुषः कुलम् अयं गोत्रमिति। तत्रायं सहचरणाद्योगाद्वा जातिशब्दो व्यक्तौ प्रयुज्यत इति।"

१७. **मीमांसासूत्र** १।४।२३–३०, द्रष्टव्य **शबर–भाष्य**; वासुदेव दीक्षित, **मीमांसाकुतूहलवृत्ति** १।४।१९–२१ (दिल्ली: श्री लालबहादुर राष्ट्रिय संस्कृत-विद्यापीठ, सं० पट्टाभिराम शास्त्री, १९६८–६९), भाग १, पृ० १३७–४६।

१८. **महाभाष्य** ४।१।४८ : "चतुर्भिः प्रकारैरतस्मिन् 'सः' इत्येतद् भवति–**तात्स्थ्यात्**, ताद्धर्म्यात्, तत्सामीप्यात्, तत्साहचर्यादिति। तात्स्थ्यात्–मञ्चा हसन्ति, गिरिर्दह्यते। ताद्धर्म्यात्–जटिनं यान्तं, ब्रह्मदत्त इत्याह। ब्रह्मदत्ते यानि कार्याणि जटिन्यपि तानि क्रियन्त इत्यतो जटी ब्रह्मदत्त इत्युच्यते। तत्सामीप्याद्–गङ्गायां घोषः, कूपे गर्गकुलम्। तत्साहचर्याद्–कुन्तान् प्रवेशय, यष्टीः प्रवेशयेति।" द्रष्टव्य कैयट, **प्रदीप**: "आरोप्यते ताद्रूप्यम्, न तु मुख्यमित्यर्थः।"

प्रायः आवश्यक माना है[१९]। आचार्य भर्तृमित्र ने सम्बन्ध (सामीप्य), सादृश्य, समवाय (साहचर्य), वैपरीत्य, तथा क्रियायोग इन पाँच सम्बन्धों के आधार पर लक्षणा पाँच प्रकार की मानी है[२०]। नागेशभट्ट ने लक्षणा के तात्स्थ्य, ताद्धर्म्य, तत्सामीप्य, तत्साहचर्य तथा तादर्थ्य ये आधार माने हैं[२१]। इसी प्रकार स्वस्वामिभाव, अवयवावयविभाव, तात्कर्म्य आदि[२२] अनेक अन्य सम्बन्ध सम्भव हैं। भेदक सम्बन्धों की दृष्टि से इन समस्त सम्बन्धों को आलंकारिकों ने दो वर्गों में विभक्त किया है—सादृश्य तथा सादृश्येतर। सादृश्यसम्बन्ध पर आधृत उपचार से युक्त लक्षणा 'गौणी' और सादृश्येतर सम्बन्धों पर आश्रित उपचार[२३] से युक्त 'शुद्धा' कहलाती है[२४]।

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१९. **वाक्यपदीय** (पूना: पुण्यपत्तनविद्यापीठ संस्कृत-प्राकृत-ग्रन्थमाला, ग्रन्थ २, सं० काशिनाथ वासुदेव अभ्यंकर तथा विष्णु प्रभाकर लिमये, १९६५), २।२४७:

स्तुतिनिन्दाप्रधानेषु वाक्येष्वर्थो न तादृशः।
पदानां प्रविभागेन यादृशः परिकल्प्यते॥

२०. मुकुलभट्ट द्वारा **अभिधावृत्तिमातृका** (पृ०४५) तथा माणिक्यचन्द्र द्वारा **काव्यप्रकाश** की अपनी **संकेत** नाम्नी टीका (पृ० १७) में उद्धृत:

अभिधेयेन सम्बन्धात्सादृश्यात्समवायतः।
वैपरीत्यात्क्रियायोगाल्लक्षणा पञ्चधा मता॥

द्रष्टव्य माणिक्यचन्द्रकृत **संकेत** भी।

२१. **पूर्वोद्धृत ग्रन्थ**, लक्षणानिरूपण, पृ० ३७: "सा च लक्षणा तात्स्थ्यादिनिमित्तका। तदाह—

तात्स्थ्यात्तथैव ताद्धर्म्यात्तत्सामीप्यात्तथैव च।
तत्साहचर्यात् तादर्थ्याज्ज्ञेया वै लक्षणा बुधैः॥

तात्स्थ्यात्–'मञ्चा हसन्ति', 'ग्रामः पलायितः'। ताद्धर्म्यात्–'सिंहो माणवकः', 'गौर्वाहीकः'। तत्सामीप्यात्– 'गङ्गायां घोषः'। तत्साहचर्यात्–'यष्टीः प्रवेशय'। तादर्थ्यात्– इन्द्रार्था स्थूणा इन्द्रः'।"

२२. द्रष्टव्य **काव्यप्रकाश**, उल्लास २, पृ० ५१–५३।

२३. यहाँ 'उपचार' शब्द आचार्य मम्मट, विश्वनाथ, माणिक्यचन्द्र, गोविन्द, तथा खुश्फहम् सिद्धिचन्द्रगणि द्वारा माने गए अर्थ से भिन्न उपरिसंकेतित पारस्परिक अर्थ में प्रयुक्त किया गया है।

२४. द्रष्टव्य मम्मट, **काव्यप्रकाश** २।१२; विश्वनाथ, **साहित्यदर्पण** २।९–१०; पण्डितराज जगन्नाथ, **रसगङ्गाधर**, आनन २, पृ० १६७ (भाग २)। कुमारिलभट्ट (**तन्त्रवार्त्तिक**, ३५४) ने अभिधेयार्थ से अविनाभावसम्बन्धपूर्वक अर्थान्तर की प्रतीति को लक्षणा और जहाँ अर्थान्तर की प्रतीति लक्ष्यमाण गुणों के योग के कारण होती है उस वृत्ति को गौणी माना है—

अभिधेयाविनाभूतप्रतीतिर्लक्षणोच्यते ।
लक्ष्यमाणगुणैर्योगाद् वृत्तेरिष्टा तु गौणता॥

प्रथमतः लक्षणा के दो भेद किए जा सकते हैं—निरूढा तथा प्रयोजनवती । विश्वनाथ आदि कुछ आचार्यों ने निरूढा लक्षणा के भी शुद्धा तथा गौणी ये भेद किए हैं[२५] । प्रयोजनवती लक्षणा के दो भेद होते हैं—शुद्धा तथा गौणी। इसमें शुद्धा के उपादान– (अजहत्स्वार्था) लक्षणा, लक्षण– (जहत्स्वार्था) लक्षणा, सारोपा तथा साध्यवसाना ये चार उपभेद होते हैं और गौणी के सारोपा तथा साध्यवसाना ये दो उपभेद । इस प्रकार शुद्धा के चार तथा गौणी के दो उपभेद होते हैं ; अतः प्रयोजनवती लक्षणा के कुल भेद छह बनते हैं[२६] । इन भेद-प्रभेदों में से यास्क-विरचित **निरुक्त**

भर्तृहरि (**वाक्यपदीय** २।२७३) भी गौण अर्थ के स्वतन्त्र अस्तित्व को स्वीकार करते हैं—

जातिशब्दोऽन्तरेणापि जातिं यत्र प्रयुज्यते ।
सम्बन्धिसदृशाद् धर्मात्तं गौणमपरे विदुः ।।

उद्भट (**काव्यालङ्कारसारसङ्ग्रह** १।११) ने इस गुणवृत्ति की दृष्टि से रूपक का लक्षण किया है :" . .. गुणवृत्तिप्रधानेन युज्यते रूपकं तु तत् ।" हेमचन्द्र तथा भोज ने कुमारिलभट्ट का अनुसरण करते हुए लक्ष्य तथा गौण अर्थ को पृथक्-पृथक् लक्षित किया है (हेमचन्द्र, **काव्यानुशासन** १।१७–१८) "मुख्यार्थबाधे निमित्ते प्रयोजने च भेदाभेदाभ्यामारोपितो गौणः। मुख्यार्थसम्बन्धस्तत्त्वेन लक्ष्यमाणो लक्ष्यः।" भोजदेव, **शृङ्गारप्रकाश** (मैसूर : सं० जी० आर० जोस्येर, भाग १, १९५५), **प्रकाश** ७, पृ० २२३ : ". . . शब्दस्यार्थाभिधायिनी शक्तिरभिधा। तया स्वरूप इवाभिधेये प्रवर्तमानः शब्दो वृत्तित्रयेण वर्तते, .ताश्च, मुख्या गौणी लक्षणेति तिस्रः । तत्र साक्षादव्यवहितार्थाभिधायिका मुख्या। गम्यमानशौर्यादिगुणयोगव्यवहितार्था गौणी । स्वार्थाविनाभूतार्थान्तरोपलक्षणा तु लक्षणेति । तथाहि, गौरित्ययं शब्दो मुख्या वृत्या सास्नादिमन्तर्थं प्रतिपादयति, स एव तिष्ठन्मूत्रादिगुणसम्पदमपेक्षमाणो यदा वाह्लीके, वर्तते तदा गौणीं वृत्तिमनुवदति ।...यदा तु शब्दः स्वार्थतः क्रियासिद्धौ साधनभावं गन्तुमसमर्थस्तदाभिधेयाविनाभूतमर्थान्तरं लक्षयति। तदा सा च लक्षणा वृत्तिः। यथा गङ्गायां घोषः प्रतिवसति। अत्र गङ्गाशब्दो विशिष्टोदकप्रवाहे निरूढाभिधानशक्तिः। स च घोषकर्तृकायाः प्रतिवसनक्रियाया अधिकरणभावं गन्तुमसमर्थः स्वार्थाविनाभूतं तटं लक्षयति।" इतर आलंकारिकों ने लक्षणा तथा गुणवृत्ति का अन्तर्भाव लक्षणा के दो भेदों शुद्धा तथा गौणी में कर लिया है। द्रष्टव्य विद्यानाथ, **प्रतापरुद्रीय** (ट्रिप्लीकेन, मद्रास : श्री बालमनोरमा सिरीज़ नं० ३, सं० एस० चन्द्रशेखर शास्त्रिगल, मल्लिनाथात्मज कुमारस्वामी-कृत **रत्नापण** सहित, १९२४), काव्यप्रकरण, पृ० ३३ : "गौणवृत्तिरपि लक्षणाप्रभेद एव। सम्बन्धानुपपत्तिमूलकत्वात् ।"

२५. तुलना कीजिए पण्डितराज जगन्नाथ, पूर्वोद्धृत ग्रन्थ, आनन २, पृ० १६७ (भाग २) : "निरूढायामपि गौणीत्वशुद्धात्वाभ्यां द्वैविध्यमामनन्ति।"

२६. लक्षणा के भेद-प्रभेदों के विषय में मतवैभिन्न्य है। सुविधा की दृष्टि से हम यहाँ पण्डितराज जगन्नाथ के वर्गीकरण का अनुसरण कर रहे हैं।

में जिनके संकेत एवं उदाहरण मिलते हैं उनका विवेचन अधोलिखित पंक्तियों में किया जा रहा है।

निरूढा लक्षणा

जहाँ कोई शब्द अपने मुख्यार्थ के रहते हुए भी किसी अन्य तत्सम्बद्ध अर्थ में रूढ अथवा प्रसिद्ध हो जाए वहाँ निरूढा लक्षणा होती है। नागेशभट्ट प्रयोजन के अभाव में शक्य (वाच्यार्थ) के सम्बन्ध को निरूढ-लक्षणा मानते हैं[२७]। वस्तुतः कोई भी गौण अथवा लाक्षणिक प्रयोग किसी प्रयोजनविशेष के बिना नहीं माना जा सकता। किसी प्रयोजनविशेष ही से औपचारिक प्रयोग किया जाता है। निरूढा लक्षणा के प्रयोगों के विषय में भी यही समझना चाहिए कि मूलतः इनके पीछे भी कोई न कोई प्रयोजन रहा है; किन्तु सुदीर्घ काल से गौण अर्थ में शब्दों का प्रयोग होते रहने से वे उन अर्थों में प्रसिद्ध किंवा रूढ हो गए हैं और प्रयोजन की प्रतीति विस्मृत एवं भ्रष्ट हो गई है[२८]। यास्क-विरचित निरुक्त में यह लक्षणा निम्न स्थलों में समुपलभ्य है—

(१) यास्क ने 'विपरीत' अर्थ में 'प्रतिलोमम्' (१।२) तथा 'वैपरीत्य' अर्थ में 'प्रातिलोम्यम्' (१।३, पाँच बार) शब्दों का प्रयोग किया है और 'सामने' के अर्थ में 'आभिमुख्यम्' (१।३) का। 'प्रतिलोमम्' शब्द का वाच्यार्थ है 'लोम के विपरीत' (प्रतिगतं लोमः) तथा 'प्रातिलोम्यम्' का 'लोम के विपरीत होने का भाव अथवा स्थिति' (प्रतिलोमस्य भावः प्रातिलोम्यम्); किन्तु ये शब्द प्रयोग-प्रवाह के कारण 'विपरीत'

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२७. वैयाकरणपरमलघुमञ्जूषा, लक्षणानिरूपणम्, पृ० ७४ : "असति प्रयोजने शक्यसम्बन्धो निरूढलक्षणा।" नागेशभट्टका विचार है कि निरूढा लक्षणा तथा शक्ति (अभिधा) में कोई अन्तर नहीं है। (तत्रैव, पृ० ७४: "इयं शक्त्यपरपर्यायैवेति बोध्यम्।"), क्योंकि जिस प्रकार कोई शब्द अपनी अभिधा-शक्ति से अनादितात्पर्यवश किसी अर्थ का बोध कराता है उसी प्रकार निरूढा लक्षणा द्वारा भी अनादितात्पर्यवश ही शब्द उन-उन अर्थों को प्रकट करता है; जैसे 'त्वचा ज्ञातम्' (त्वक् से जान लिया) में 'त्वचा' शब्द निरूढा लक्षणा से 'त्वगिन्द्रिय' का अर्थ देता है; 'त्वक्' शब्द जिस प्रकार 'चर्म' अर्थ में प्रसिद्ध है उसी प्रकार 'चर्मेन्द्रिय' अर्थ में भी है। अतः निरूढा लक्षणा को अभिधा ही का पर्याय समझना चाहिए। काव्यप्रकाशसंकेतकार माणिक्यचन्द्र भी निरूढा लक्षणा को अभिधाव्यापारतुल्या मानते हैं: रूढितस्तु या लक्षणा सा लोके प्राचुर्यं गतेति न तस्या नैयत्यम् अभिधाव्यापारतुल्यैवासाविति भावः।" (पृ० १६)।

२८. कदाचित् यही बात माणिक्यचन्द्र (काव्यप्रकाश-संकेत, पृ. १७) भी कहना चाहते हैं: "निरूढा इति भ्रष्टोपचारप्रतीतयः।" उदाहरणार्थ 'कर्मणि कुशलः' में मूलतः प्रयोजन विवेचकत्वातिशय का द्योतन था। इसी प्रकार यास्क के कुछ प्रयोगों में प्रयोजन की अनुभूति की जा सकती है।

तथा 'वैपरीत्य' रूप लक्ष्यार्थ में रूढ हो गए हैं[२९]। इसी प्रकार 'आभिमुख्यम्' का वाच्यार्थ है 'अभिमुख' अर्थात् मुख को किसी (वस्तु की) ओर मोड़ने की स्थिति' (अभिगतो मुखमभिमुखं तस्य भावः आभिमुख्यम्); किन्तु यह 'सम्मुख अथवा सामने होने की स्थिति' रूप लक्ष्यार्थ में रूढ हो गया है[३०]। यहाँ यह रूढ लक्ष्यार्थ सादृश्य-सम्बन्ध पर आधृत है।

(२) यास्क के मत में दक्षिण दिशा की प्रकृति दक्षिण (दाहिना) हाथ है : "दिग्घस्तप्रकृतिः" (१।७)। दक्षिण अर्थात् दाहिने हाथ की ओर पड़नेवाली दिशा को 'दक्षिण' कहा जाता है ; यदि कोई पूर्वाभिमुख खड़ा हो तो उसके दाहिने हाथ पर पड़ने वाली दिशा दक्षिण होगी[३१]। इस प्रकार 'दक्षिण' शब्द का मूल वाच्यार्थ दाहिना हाथ है[३२]; वह तत्सम्बद्ध 'दक्षिण दिशा' रूप लक्ष्यार्थ में रूढ हो गया है।

(३) 'पर्व' शब्द के अर्थ के विषय में यास्क की उक्ति है: **पर्वः पुनः पृणातेः प्रीणातेर्वा। अर्धमासपर्व। देवानस्मिन्प्रीणन्तीति। तत् प्रकृतीतरत्सन्धिसामान्यात्।** (१।२०) अर्थात् 'पर्व' √पृ (भरना) अथवा √प्री (तृप्त करना) धातु से व्युत्पन्न है। इसका मूल अर्थ है अर्धमासपर्व, क्योंकि इस अवसर पर लोग देवों को तृप्त करते हैं। इसी के आधार पर सन्धिसामान्य के कारण अन्य पर्वों को भी 'पर्व' कहा जाता है। यास्क का तात्पर्य है कि मूलतः 'पर्व' शब्द मास के दो पक्षों की सन्धि का वाची था ; किन्तु सन्धि (जोड़) की समानता के कारण अन्य सन्धियों के लिये भी इसका प्रयोग होने लगा। यास्क का यह कथन अयुक्त है : वस्तुतः 'पर्व' शब्द का मूलतः अर्थ 'सन्धि' है,[३३] सभी सन्धियाँ 'पर्व' हैं ; और सन्धिसामान्य के आधार पर यह शब्द दो पक्षों की सन्धिरूप अर्धमासपर्व के लिये रूढ हो गया है।[३४]

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२९. तुलना कीजिए राधाकान्तदेव, **शब्दकल्पद्रुम** (वाराणसी : चौखम्भा संस्कृत ग्रन्थमाला, ग्रन्थ-संख्या ९३, तृतीय संस्करण, १९६७), भाग ३, पृ० २६३ ; तारानाथ तर्कवाचस्पति भट्टाचार्य, **वाचस्पत्यम्** (वाराणसी : चौखम्भा संस्कृत ग्रन्थमाला, ग्रन्थ-संख्या ९४, तृतीय संस्करण, १९६९), भाग ६, पृ० ४४५०।

३०. तुलना कीजिए राधाकान्तदेव, **पूर्वोद्धृत ग्रन्थ**, भाग १, पृ० ७४ ; तारानाथ तर्कवाचस्पति भट्टाचार्य, **पूर्वोद्धृत ग्रन्थ**, भाग १, पृ० २९६।

३१. आचार्य दुर्ग (**निरुक्त** १।७ पर वृत्ति, सं० वैजनाथ काशीनाथ राजवाड़े, आनन्दाश्रमग्रन्थावलि, ग्रन्थांक ८८, पूना, १९२१, भाग १) का कथन है कि पूर्वाभिमुख प्रजापति के दक्षिण हस्त की ओर की दिशा दक्षिण बन गई :" प्राङ्मुखस्य प्रजापतेर्यतो दक्षिणो हस्तो बभूव सा दक्षिणा दिगभवत्।"

३२. तुलना कीजिए संस्कृत **दक्षिण**; लैटिन *dexter* (दाहिना) ; लिथुआनियन *desine* (दाहिना हाथ)।

३३. तुलना कीजिए संस्कृत **पर्वन्** ; भारोपीय *per-* (गाँठ) ; ग्रीक *peirēnante* (गाँठ से दृढ करना)।

३४. **द्रष्टव्य** **वैजनाथ काशीनाथ राजवाड़े**, ***Yāska's Nirukta***, भाग १ (पूना :

(४) 'पाद' तथा 'पद' शब्दों के अर्थ के सम्बन्ध में यास्क का कथन है: पादः पद्यते। तन्निधानात् √पदम्। पशुपादप्रकृतिः प्रभागपादः। प्रभागपादसामान्यादितराणि पदानि।" (२।७)। अर्थात् 'पाद' √पद् (जाना)[३५] से निष्पन्न है: जाने के कारण अथवा मनुष्य एवं पशु पक्षी इसकी सहायता से जाते हैं इसलिये पैर को 'पाद' कहते हैं। पैर रखे जाने का स्थान अथवा पैर रखे जाने से समुत्पन्न चिह्न 'पद' है। प्रभाग (भागविशेष–चतुर्थ भाग) के अर्थ में प्रयुक्त 'पाद' का मूल पशु के पाद (पैर) हैं: पशु के चार पाद (पैर) होते हैं; अतः एक पाद (पैर) हुआ–चतुर्थ भाग अथवा अंश ; चतुर्थ भाग के अर्थ में 'पाद' शब्द का प्रयोग[३६] इसी सादृश्य के कारण है। यास्क मानते हैं कि शब्द आदि के अर्थ में प्रयुक्त 'पद' शब्द भी प्रभागवाची 'पाद' की समानता पर आधृत है। ऐसा मानना असमीचीन प्रतीत होता है। **ऋग्वेद** (१।१६४।४१) में छन्दों के संकेतक एकपदी, द्विपदी, चतुष्पदी, अष्टापदी तथा नवपदी शब्दों का प्रयोग हुआ है। इससे सुस्पष्ट है कि **ऋग्वेद** में 'पद' का अर्थ 'शब्द' भी है, जिसे पैर के वाचक 'पद' से सम्बद्ध किया जा सकता है : शब्द किसी छन्द अथवा वाक्य के पैर-जैसे होते हैं। स्थानवाची 'पद' (यथा–क्षेत्रपद, जनपद आदि) भी √**पद्** (जाना) से माना जा सकता है: जहाँ जाया जाए अथवा चला जाए वह 'पद' है।

(५) यास्क 'पृश्नि' शब्द को आदित्य का वाची मानते हैं, क्योंकि वह वर्ण (रंग) से व्याप्त है: **पृश्निरादित्यो भवति। प्राश्नुत एनं वर्ण इति नैरुक्ताः।** (२।१४)। वस्तुतः आदित्य 'पृश्नि' शब्द का मुख्यार्थ नहीं है। यह शब्द मूलतः शुक्लवर्णवाची है,[३७] जो गुणगुणिभाव-सम्बन्ध से गुणी आदित्य के अर्थ में रूढ हो गया है। आदित्य इसका लक्ष्यार्थ है।[३८]

(६) एक अरब संख्यावाची 'अर्बुद' के निर्वचन के प्रसंग में यास्क कहते हैं कि मूलतः 'अर्बुद' का अर्थ है 'मेघ', क्योंकि वह अर् अर्थात् अम्बु (जल) का प्रदाता है,

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गवर्नमेण्ट ओरिएण्टल सिरीज, वर्ग ए, सं० ७, भण्डारकर प्राच्यविद्या–संशोधन–संस्थान, १९४०), टिप्पणी, पृ० २९२।

३५. धा० ४।६३ : पद् गतौ।

३६. तुलना कीजिए **अमरकोश** २।९।८९ : "अंशः तुरीयः पादः।"

३७. तुलना कीजिए राधाकान्तदेव, **पूर्वोद्धृत ग्रन्थ**, भाग ३, पृ. २३० ; **ऋग्वेद** १।१६०।३ : "धेनुं च पृश्निं" ; १।८४।११ :" पश्नयः . . . धेनवः" ; ९।८३।३ :" पृश्निरग्रिय उक्षा" ; १०।१८९।१ :" आयं गौः पृश्निरक्रमीद्" (गौः–आदित्य) ; १।१६४।४३ :" उक्षाणं पृश्निमपचन्त वीराः।" वैजनाथ काशीनाथ राजवाड़े (**पूर्वोद्धृत ग्रन्थ**, भूमिका, पृ० ३८ ; टिप्पण, पृ० ३६१-६२) 'पृश्नि' का अर्थ 'लाल रंग' मानते हैं।

३८. आदित्य के अर्थ में इस शब्द के प्रयोगहेतु द्रष्टव्य **ऋग्वेद** ४।३।१० ; ५।४३।३ ; ९।८३।३ ; १०।१८९।१।

अथवा अम्बुमान् (जलयुक्त) होता है, अथवा अम्बुमान् हो प्रकाशित होता है। जैसे मेघ वर्षा करता हुआ बड़ा हो जाता है वैसे ही 'अर्बुद' बहुत संख्येयों का बोधक होने से बड़ा है : अर्बुदो मेघो भवति। अरणम् अम्बु। तद्दः। अम्बुमद्भवतीति वा। अम्बुमद्भातीति वा। स यथा महान् बहुर्भवति वर्षन् तदिवार्बुदम्। (३।१०)। यहाँ स्पष्ट है कि 'अर्बुद' शब्द का मुख्यार्थ 'मेघ' है, एक अरब संख्या तो उसका सादृश्याधृत लक्ष्यार्थ है। सादृश्य-सम्बन्ध ही से मेघवाची 'अर्बुद' शब्द 'एक अरब संख्या' रूप लक्ष्यार्थ में प्रसिद्ध हो गया।

(७) यास्क उष्णिक्, ककुभ्, तथा पिपीलकमध्या इन वैदिक छन्दों का निर्वचन करते हुए लिखते हैं : उष्णिग्. . .उष्णीषिणी वेत्यौपमिकम्। ककुप् ककुभिनी भवति। पिपीलिकमध्येत्यौपमिकम्। (७।१२–१३)[३९]। उष्णिक् छन्द उष्णीष (पट्टी अथवा पगड़ी) से युक्त-जैसा होता है : जैसे पट्टी से लपेटा हुआ अथवा पगड़ी से युक्त भाग मोटा होता है वैसे ही उष्णिक् छन्द का उत्तरार्द्ध पूर्वार्द्ध की अपेक्षा अधिक अक्षरों से युक्त होने से बड़ा दीखता है[४०]। अतः 'पट्टी' अथवा 'पगड़ी' रूप मुख्यार्थ वाला 'उष्णिक्' शब्द सादृश्य-सम्बन्ध के साहाय्य से उष्णिक् नामक छन्द के अर्थ में रूढ हो गया। ककुभ् छन्द ककुभ् (कूबड़) से युक्त-जैसा है : जैसे ककुभ् (कूबड़) शरीर के पूर्वार्द्ध ही में होता है वैसे ही ककुभ् छन्द में पूर्वार्द्ध में अधिक अक्षर होते हैं[४१]। सादृश्य-सम्बन्ध के आश्रयण से 'कूबड़' रूप वाच्यार्थ वाला 'ककुभ्' शब्द ककुभ् छन्द रूप लक्ष्यार्थ में रूढ हो गया है। पिपीलिकमध्या छन्द चींटी के मध्य भाग की भाँति होता है : जैसे दोनों सिरों की अपेक्षा चींटी का मध्य भाग पतला होता है वैसे ही इस छन्द के मध्य के पाद में अक्षरसंख्या कम होती है[४२]। 'चींटी का मध्य भाग' इस वाच्यार्थ वाला 'पिपीलिकमध्या' शब्द सादृश्य-सम्बन्ध से पिपीलिकमध्या छन्द रूप लक्ष्यार्थ में रूढ अथवा प्रसिद्ध हो गया है। इस प्रकार उष्णिक्, ककुभ् तथा पिपीलिकमध्या शब्द लाक्षणिक हैं और अपने लक्ष्यार्थ में रूढ हो गए हैं।

(८) 'इन्द्रपान' शब्द के विषय में यास्क का कथन है : अथो एतत्तेषां पुनः पात्रस्येन्द्रपानमिति भवतीति भक्तिमात्रं तद्भवति। यथा वायव्यानीति सर्वेषां सोमपात्राणाम्

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३९. तुलना कीजिए सामवेदीय दैवताध्याय-ब्राह्मण ३।४ : "उष्णिग् . . . अपि वोष्णीषिणीवेत्यौपमिकम्" ; ३।५ "ककुत् ककुद्रूपिणीत्यौपमिकम्" ; ३।१० :" "पिपीलिकामध्येत्यौपमिकम्।"

४०. द्रष्टव्य जैमिनीय-ब्राह्मण १।१५६ :" उष्णिहो जघनार्ध्येऽक्षराणि भूयिष्ठानि।"

४१. द्रष्टव्य तदेव १।१५६ :" ककुभः पूर्वार्ध्येऽक्षराणि भूयिष्ठानि।"

४२. द्रष्टव्य कात्यायन, ऋक्सर्वानुक्रमणी ५।६, ६।४, ७।७ ; पिंगल, छन्दःसूत्र ३।५७ : त्रिपादाणिष्ठमध्या पिपीलिकमध्या (हलायुधः" यदाद्यन्तौ पादौ बह्वक्षरौ, मध्यमोऽल्पतराक्षरः तदाणिष्ठमध्या सती पिपीलिकमध्या नाम भवति।)।

(८।२)। 'इन्द्रपान' शब्द मूलतः उस पात्र का वाची है जिसमें इन्द्र को सोम दिया जाता है ; किन्तु वह लक्षणया उस पात्र का भी बोध कराता है जिसमें द्रविणोदाः देव को सोम प्रदान किया जाता है। इसी प्रकार 'वायव्य' शब्द मूलतः उस पात्र का वाची है जिसमें वायु के लिये सोम प्रदान किया जाता है ; किन्तु भक्त्या इसका प्रयोग सभी सोमपात्रों के लिये कर दिया जाता है। 'इन्द्रपान' शब्द द्वारा 'द्रविणोदाः का सोमपात्र' और 'वायव्य' शब्द द्वारा 'समस्त सोमपात्र' रूप लक्ष्यार्थ के बोधन में रूढि ही हेतु है। संभवतः यहाँ अन्य अर्थ का ग्रहण सोमपानसामान्य के कारण है।

प्रयोजनवती लक्षणा

इस लक्षणा में मूल में निहित प्रयोजनविशेष की प्रतीति स्फुट होती है। वह प्रयोग-प्रवाह के आवर्त में पड़कर तिरोहित अथवा भ्रष्ट नहीं हो पाता। इस लक्षणा में शब्द अपने लक्ष्यार्थ में प्रसिद्ध नहीं होता अपितु किसी प्रयोजनविशेष से उसका उस अर्थ में यदा-कदा किसी अवसरविशेष पर प्रयोग कर दिया जाता है । प्रायः आलंकारिकों ने प्रयोजन की प्रतीति व्यंजना-वृत्ति द्वारा स्वीकार की है । प्रयोजनवती लक्षणा के छह भेदों का संकेत हम ऊपर कर आए हैं। सम्प्रति हम इस लक्षणा के यास्क द्वारा प्रदत्त प्रयोगों का विश्लेषण करेंगे। यास्क के निरुक्त में शुद्धा प्रयोजनवती लक्षणा के उपादान- तथा लक्षण-लक्षणा उपभेदों के प्रयोग मिलते हैं । किसी पद द्वारा स्वसिद्धिहेतु अन्य अर्थ का आक्षेप 'उपादान' और परार्थ अपना (अपने मुख्यार्थ का) समर्पण (परित्याग) 'लक्षण' कहलाता है। [४३] यास्क ने अधोलिखित स्थल पर उपादान-लक्षणा का प्रयोग किया है--

(१) यास्क ने ऋग्वेद (१।११३।२) के

रुशद्वत्सा रुशती श्वेत्यागादारैगु कृष्णा सदनान्यस्याः।
समानबन्धू अमृते अनूची द्यावावर्णं चरत आमिनाने॥

इस मन्त्र में प्रयुक्त 'कृष्णा' पद का अर्थ 'कृष्णवर्णा रात्रि' किया है (२।२०)। यहाँ योग– अथवा तत्साहचर्य–सम्बन्ध से 'कृष्णवर्णा' वाची 'कृष्णा' शब्द 'रात्रि' रूप अर्थ का उपादान करते हुए 'कृष्णवर्णा रात्रि' इस लक्ष्यार्थ में पर्यवसित हो रहा है। अन्धकार

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४३. द्रष्टव्य मम्मट, पूर्वोद्धृत ग्रन्थ, २।१० :

स्वसिद्धये पराक्षेपः परार्थं स्वसमर्पणम्।
उपादानं लक्षणं चेत्युक्ता शुद्धैव सा द्विधा॥

तुलना कीजिए विश्वनाथ, साहित्यदर्पण २।६–७। उपादान-लक्षणा तथा लक्षण-लक्षणा ही के ऊपर अभिधान अजहत्स्वार्था लक्षणा तथा जहत्स्वार्था लक्षणा है। कुछ वेदान्ती जहदजहल्लक्षणा अथवा भागलक्षणा भी मानते हैं। उसके खण्डनहेतु द्रष्टव्य नागेशभट्ट, पूर्वोद्धृत ग्रन्थ, लक्षणानिरूपण, पृ. ६९–७१ ।

की सघनता का द्योतन यहाँ प्रयोजन है। यही स्थिति 'श्वेत्या' पद की भी है। यह मूलतः 'श्वेतवर्णा' का वाची है; किन्तु प्रस्तुत मन्त्र में योग–अथवा तत्साहचर्य–सम्बन्ध से 'श्वेतवर्णा उषा' रूप लक्ष्यार्थ में पर्यवसित हो रहा है । प्रकाश की समुज्ज्वलता का द्योतन यहाँ प्रयोजन है । 'कृष्णा' तथा 'श्वेत्या' ये दोनों ही पद अपने मुख्यार्थ को सुरक्षित रखते हुए तत्सम्बद्ध अन्य अर्थ का उपादान करते हैं।

लक्षण–लक्षणा के प्रयोग के लिये निम्न स्थल द्रष्टव्य हैं––

(१) यास्क ने वृद्धिरूप भावविकार के अन्तर्गत सांयौगिक पदार्थों के कारण होने वाली वृद्धि के उदाहरण के रूप में 'वर्धते विजयेन' (विजय से बढ़ता है) वाक्य प्रस्तुत किया है (१।२)। वस्तुतः इस वाक्य में 'वर्धते' पद अपने वृद्धिरूप मुख्यार्थ का परित्याग कर 'मोदते' (प्रसन्न अथवा आनंदित होता है) रूप लक्ष्यार्थ में संक्रान्त हो जाता है। आनन्दातिरेक को यहाँ प्रयोजन माना जा सकता है। यहाँ लक्षणा क्रिया-योग-सम्बन्ध पर आधृत है।

(२) यास्क ने गाय-वाची 'गो' शब्द का प्रयोग ताद्धित (तत्सम्बद्ध) दुग्ध, अधिषवणचर्म, चर्म, श्लेष्मा (सरेस), स्नाव तथा ज्या इन अर्थों में भी माना है और तदर्थ वैदिक उद्धरण प्रस्तुत किए हैं (२।५–६)। उनका कथन है कि इन अर्थों में 'गो' शब्द अकृत्स्नवाची अर्थात् अवयववाची होने पर भी कृत्स्नवाची अर्थात् अवयविवाची की भाँति प्रयुक्त होता है: **अथाप्यस्यां ताद्धितेन कृत्स्नवन्निगमा भवन्ति** (२।५)। उदाहरणार्थ **'गोभिः श्रीणीत मत्सरम्'**(**ऋग्वेद** ९।४६।४) में 'गो' शब्द का अर्थ गो-दुग्ध ; **'अंशुं दुहन्तो अध्यासते गवि'** (**तदेव** १०।९४।९) में गाय के चर्म से बना अधिषवणचर्म ; **'गोभिः सन्नद्धो असि वीळयस्व'** (**तदेव** ६।४७।२६ ; **अथर्ववेद** ६।१२५।१) में गाय का चर्म तथा श्लेष्मा (सरेस) ; **'गोभिः सन्नद्धा पतति प्रसूता'** (**ऋग्वेद** ६।७५।११ ; **वाजसनेयि-संहिता** २९।४८) में गाय की स्नाव तथा श्लेष्मा ; और **वृक्षेवृक्षे नियता मीमयद् गौस्ततो वयः प्र पतान्पूरुषादः।' (ऋग्वेद** १०।२७।२२) में गाय की आँत से बनी ज्या है। ये तद्धित अर्थ लक्षणया गृहीत हैं। यहाँ उत्पाद्योत्पादकभाव अथवा अवयवावयविभाव सम्बन्ध से 'गो' शब्द अपने उत्पादक अथवा अवयवी रूप मुख्यार्थ को छोड़कर दुग्ध, अधिषवणचर्म, चर्म, श्लेष्मा तथा स्नाव इन उत्पाद्य अथवा अवयव रूप और विकार्यविकारिभाव सम्बन्ध से अपने विकारी रूप मुख्यार्थ को छोड़कर विकार रूप ज्या इस लक्ष्यार्थ में संक्रान्त हो गया है । गोसम्बन्ध का द्योतन यहाँ प्रयोजन कहा जा सकता है ।

(३) यास्क (७।७) देवों के अपुरुषविधत्व के विवेचन के प्रसंग में कहते हैं कि वेदों में अचेतन तथा देवों के रूप में मान्य पदार्थों का भी चेतनवत् वर्णन किया गया है और एतदर्थ उदाहरणस्वरूप ग्रावस्तुति से **होतुश्चित्पूर्वे हविरद्यमाशत** (**ऋग्वेद** १०। ९४।२) यह मन्त्रांश प्रस्तुत करते हैं, जिसका वाच्यार्थ है–'(ग्रावा) होता से भी पहले

खाने योग्य हवि को खा लेते हैं।' इसमें लक्षण-लक्षणा प्रयुक्त है; यहाँ 'आशत' पद अपने 'खाते हैं' इस भक्षण रूप मुख्यार्थ को छोड़कर '(सोम-हवि से) संयुक्त होते हैं' इस संयोगरूप लक्ष्यार्थ में संक्रान्त हो जाता है, [४४] क्योंकि ग्रावों में अचेतन होने के कारण चेतनप्राणिसम्पाद्य भक्षण-क्रिया की सामर्थ्य नहीं है। यहाँ लक्षणा के मूल में क्रिया-योग-सम्बन्ध है। हवि-संयोग का आधिक्य द्योतित कराना यहाँ प्रयोजन है।

यास्क के **निरुक्त** में गौणी लक्षणा के अनेक उदाहरण मिलते हैं। गौणी लक्षणा के दो भेद होते हैं—सारोपा तथा साध्यवसाना। जिस अभेदारोप में विषय (आरोप-विषय– उपमेय) तथा विषयी (आरोप्यमाण–उपमान) का पृथक्-पृथक् निर्देश हो वह 'सारोपा' और जिसमें विषय का पृथक् निर्देश न कर विषयी द्वारा उसका निगरण कराकर अभेद-स्थापना की जाए वह 'साध्यवसाना' गौणी लक्षणा होती है[४५]। यास्क के **निरुक्त** में सारोपा गौणी लक्षणा के प्रयोग के लिए निम्न स्थल द्रष्टव्य है—

(१) यास्क का कथन है कि लुप्तोपमा वाले पद अथवा वाक्य अर्थोपमा से युक्त माने जाते हैं, अर्थात् जिन पदों अथवा वाक्यों में इवादि उपमावाचक शब्द उपात्त नहीं होते उन लुप्तोपमा वाले स्थलों में उपमा-शब्द तथा उपमा (सादृश्य) अर्थतः प्रतीत होते हैं (शब्दतः नहीं); अतः वे स्थल अर्थोपमा अर्थात् अर्थ द्वारा प्रतीयमान उपमा-शब्द तथा उपमा वाले होते हैं [४६]। ऐसे स्थलों में 'सिंह' तथा 'व्याघ्र' शब्द उपमेय की प्रशंसा अथवा श्रेष्ठता और 'श्वा' तथा 'काक' उपमेय की निंदा को व्यक्त करते हैं: **अथ लुप्तोपमान्यर्थोपमानीत्याचक्षते—सिंहो व्याघ्र इति पूजायाम्, श्वा काक इति कुत्सायाम्** (३।१८)। यास्क ने उदाहरणस्वरूप कोई वाक्य प्रस्तुत नहीं किया है। हाँ, आचार्य दुर्ग तथा स्कन्द 'सिंह' शब्द के प्रयोगप्रदर्शनार्थ एक वाक्य देते हैं—'**सिंहो देवदत्तः**' (देवदत्त सिंह है)। यहाँ 'सिंहः' पद उपमेय देवदत्तगत सिंहोचित शौर्यादि गुणों का आक्षेप करता है और देवदत्त के प्रशस्यभाव को व्यक्त करता है। 'व्याघ्र' शब्द के लिए '**व्याघ्रो माणवकः**' (लड़का व्याघ्र है) उदाहरण दिया जा सकता है, जहाँ 'व्याघ्रः' पद उपमेय-भूत माणवकगत व्याघ्रोचित शौर्यादि गुणों का आक्षेपक है। 'श्वा' तथा 'काक' शब्दों

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४४. द्रष्टव्य **दुर्ग-वृत्ति**, भाग २, पृ० ६५३ : "अभिषवे सोमसंयोगमात्रमशनमुपचर्यते ग्राव्णाम् ।... न हि ग्राव्णाँ यथाभूतान्यास्यानि सन्ति यत्संयोगेन च स्तूयन्ते।"

४५. द्रष्टव्य मम्मट, पूर्वोद्धृत ग्रन्थ, २।११; विश्वनाथ, **साहित्यदर्पण** २,२।८–९; पण्डितराज जगन्नाथ, **पूर्वोद्धृत ग्रन्थ**, भाग २, आनन २, पृ०१६८ :"विषयविषयिणोः पृथङ्निर्दिष्टयोरभेद आरोपः। अपृथङ्निर्दिष्टे विषये विषय्यभेदोऽध्यवसानम्। तत्राद्येन सहिता सारोपा। द्वितीयेन तु साध्यवसाना।"

४६. आचार्य दुर्ग ऐसे स्थलों में उपमाशब्दों का अवगमन अर्थतः मानते हैं:" तेषु वक्तुरभिप्रायगता एत एवोपमाशब्दा अर्थतो लिङ्ग्यन्त इत्यर्थोपमा इत्युच्यन्ते।..

के प्रयोगप्रदर्शनार्थ आचार्य दुर्ग ने 'श्वायम्' [यह (व्यक्ति) कुत्ता है] तथा काकोऽयम्' [यह (व्यक्ति) कौआ है] उदाहरण दिए हैं, जिनमें 'श्वा' उपमेयभूत व्यक्तिविशेषगत श्वोचित लौल्यादि दोषों का और 'काकः' उपमेयभूत व्यक्तिविशेषगत काकोचित धार्ष्ट्य-यादि दोषों का आक्षेप करता है[४७]। सिंह, व्याघ्र, श्वा तथा काक शब्द, जो स्वयं उपमानभूत प्राणियों के वाचक हैं, उपमेयगत समान शौर्यादि गुणों तथा लौल्यादि एवं धार्ष्ट्य-यादि दोषों का आक्षेप ताद्धर्म्यसम्बन्ध से लक्षणा द्वारा ही कर सकते हैं। वस्तुतः यहाँ सारोपा गौणी लक्षणा कार्यरत है, क्योंकि यहाँ आरोप्यमाण (उपमान) तथा आरोप-विषय (उपमेय) दोनों ही का उपादान किया गया है। आक्षिप्त गुणों अथवा दोषों की प्रतीति इसमें प्रयोजन है[४८]।

यास्क ने इस सादृश्यसम्बन्धाश्रित लक्षणा के साध्यवसाना नामक भेद का प्रयोग निम्न स्थलों पर किया है—

(१) यास्क 'अवसायं पद्वते रुद्र मृळ' (ऋग्वेद १०।१६९।१) में प्रयुक्त 'अवसायं पद्वते' की व्याख्या करते हुए लिखते हैं : "पद्वदवसम्। गावः पथ्यदनम।" (१।१७)। अर्थात् यहाँ पैर वाले अन्न का तात्पर्य है गाएँ; गाएँ (अर्थात् उनसे प्राप्य दुग्ध आदि) मार्ग का अन्न है[४९]। यहाँ 'अवस' (अन्न)[५०] शब्द गायों का बोध कराता है। वस्तुतः इस

तदभिधानीयं वाक्यं कृत्वोपमाशब्दानामिवादीनामनुच्चारयन्नेवं ब्रवीति 'सिंहो देवदत्त' इति। यत्तदनुच्चारणमुपमाशब्दस्य स एव लोप इत्युच्यते।" आचार्य स्कन्द ऐसे स्थलों में उपमा (सादृश्य) की प्रतीति अर्थतः मानते हैं :"अथ किमिदमर्थोपमानीति ? अर्थवद्वाक्यसामर्थ्यादसत्युपमाशब्देऽपि येषूपमा प्रतीयते तान्यर्थोपमानि। अथवा—अर्थ एवोपमा येषु तानि।" अन्ततोगत्वा तो उपमाशब्दों से भी उपमा ही की प्रतीति होती है।

४७. द्रष्टव्य दुर्ग-वृत्ति तथा स्कन्द-भाष्य।

४८. द्रष्टव्य साध्यवसाना गौणी लक्षणा के अन्तर्गत अनुच्छेद ८ भी।

४९. द्रष्टव्य स्कन्द—भाष्यः "गावः च 'पथ्यदनम्', तत्सम्भवस्य पय आदेः पथ्यद्यमानत्वात्।" वस्तुतः पय आदि मार्ग ही में नहीं अपितु सर्वत्र अन्नरूप हैं।

५०. निघण्टु में 'अवस्' शब्द अन्न (२।७।६) तथा 'अविष्यन्' शब्द 'अत्ति' (२।८।६) के पर्यायों में पठित है। 'अन्न' अर्थ में 'अवस्' शब्द के प्रयोगार्थ द्रष्टव्य ऋग्वेद १।९३।४ :"यदमुष्णीतमवसं पणिं गाः"; १।११६।६ :" यु॒वं श॒ं॒यो॑रव॒सं पि॑प्यथु॒र्गवि॑"; ६।६१।१ : " या शश्वन्तमाचखादावसं पणिं"। वैजनाथ काशीनाथ राजवाड़े (पूर्वोद्धृत ग्रन्थ, टिप्पण, पृ० २७७) इसका अर्थ प्राणरक्षक तत्त्व (Subsistence) मानते हैं।

मन्त्रांश का 'अवस' शब्द गौणी लक्षणा के साध्यवसाना नामक भेद का उदाहरण प्रस्तुत करता है। यहाँ आरोपविषय (उपमेय) गायों पर आरोप्यमाण (उपमान) अवस (अन्न) का आरोप किया गया है और आरोप्यमाण अवस ने आरोपविषय गायों का अध्यवसान अर्थात् निगरण कर लिया है, जिसके परिणामस्वरूप आरोप्यमाण अवस ही का शब्दतः उपादान मन्त्र में किया गया है। इसका आधार गायों के दुग्धादि तथा अवस (अन्न) दोनों में प्राप्य (जीवन-) रक्षण-तत्त्व[५१] का सादृश्य है।

(२) यास्क ने गव्येतर (गाय-बैल के अतिरिक्त अन्य किसी पशु की आँत से बनी) ज्या को भी 'गो' शब्द का अर्थ माना है: **ज्यापि गौरुच्यते। गव्या चेत् ताद्धितम्। अथ चेन्न गव्या गमयतीषूनिति।** (२।५)। वस्तुतः गव्येतर ज्या के अर्थ में 'गो' शब्द का प्रयोग साध्यवसाना गौणी लक्षणा पर आधृत है। गव्या ज्या तथा गव्येतर ज्या दोनों में 'बाण को फेंकने में उपयोगिता' इस विशेष गुण की समानता है, जिसके आधार पर गव्येतर ज्या पर गव्य-ज्या (गो) का आरोप कर दिया जाता है; आरोप्यमाण गव्य-ज्या (गो) द्वारा आरोपविषय गव्येतर ज्या का अध्यवसान कर लिया जाता है; अतः गव्यज्यावाची 'गो' शब्द ही का प्रयोग में उपादान किया जाता है।

(३) यास्क ने 'गो' शब्द के 'आदित्य' तथा 'रश्मि' (किरण) अर्थ भी माने हैं (२।६–७)। उदाहरणार्थ '**उताद: परुषे गवि**' (ऋग्वेद ६।५६।३) में 'गो' का अर्थ है 'आदित्य'; और '**यत्र गावो भूरिशृङ्गा अयासः**' (तत्रैव १।१५४।६) में 'रश्मि'। वस्तुतः ये अर्थ साध्यवसाना गौणी लक्षणा से उपलभ्य हैं। द्युलोक में अपने रश्मिजाल से युक्त विचरण करता हुआ आदित्य ऐसा प्रतीत होता है जैसे गायों के समुदाय से युक्त कोई बैल (गो) विचरण कर रहा हो। यहाँ आदित्य पर बैल का तथा रश्मियों पर गायों का समारोपण है[५२]। आरोप्यमाण गो (बैल) द्वारा आरोपविषय आदित्य का तथा अन्य गो (गाय) द्वारा आरोपविषय रश्मियों का निगरण किया गया है। इसमें उभयप्राप्त गमन-क्रिया का सादृश्य हेतु है।

(४) यास्क 'अहि' शब्द को 'मेघ'[५३] तथा 'सर्प' दोनों अर्थों में मानते हैं: **अहिरयनात्।**

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५१. 'अवस्' का अर्थ 'रक्षण' भी है। द्रष्टव्य **निरुक्त** २।२४,२५; १०।३३; १२।२१।

५२. ऋग्वेद (१।१५४।६) में विविधवर्णयुक्त तथा गमनशील रश्मियों को विविधशृंगयुक्त तथा संचरणशील गायों से उपमित किया गया है: **यत्र गावो भूरिशृंगा अयासः।"**

५३. 'वृत्र' तथा 'अहि' दोनों मेघवाची हैं। द्रष्टव्य **निरुक्त** २।१७: "तत्को वृत्रः। मेघ इति नैरुक्ताः। अपां च ज्योतिषश्च मिश्रीभावकर्मणा वर्षकर्म जायते। तत्रोपमार्थेन युद्धवर्णा भवन्ति। अहिवत्तु खलु मन्त्रवर्णा ब्राह्मणवादाश्च।"

एत्यन्तरिक्षे। अयमपीतरोऽहिरेतस्मादेव। निर्ह्रसितोपसर्गः। । आहन्तीति। (२।१७) वस्तुतः 'अहि' का मुख्यार्थ 'सर्प' है[५४] जिससे यास्क सुपरिचित हैं ; मेघ उसका लक्ष्यार्थ है। अयन (गति) गुण के उभयगत सादृश्य के कारण सर्प का मेघ पर आरोप किया गया है, क्योंकि अन्तरिक्ष में सरकती हुई मेघलेखा सरकते हुए सर्प-जैसी लगती है। आरोप्यमाण सर्प के आरोपविषय मेघ का निगरण कर स्वतः स्थित होने से मेघप्रसंगों में भी केवल सर्पवाची 'अहि' शब्द ही का उपादान किया जाता है, जिससे मेघ की उद्भावना लक्ष्यार्थ के रूप में कर ली जाती है। यहाँ भी साध्यवसाना गौणी लक्षणा ही की स्थिति है।

(५) यास्क अद्रि, ग्रावन्, गोत्र, अश्मन्, पर्वत, गिरि, उपर, उपल आदि शब्दों को 'मेघ' तथा 'पर्वत' दोनों ही अर्थों में मानते हैं (निघण्टु १।१० ; निरुक्त २।२१)। इनमें अद्रि[५५], ग्रावन्[५६], अश्मन्[५७] उपर तथा उपल[५८] शब्दों का मूलभूत अर्थ 'पत्थर' होता है। पर्वत प्रस्तर–अथवा शिला–राशि होने से इससे बोध्य है। वस्तुतः अन्तरिक्ष में उड़ते हुए वृहदाकार काले-काले मेघ पर्वतसदृश लगते हैं ; अतः मेघ पर सादृश्य के कारण पर्वत का आरोप कर दिया गया है। विषयी पर्वत द्वारा विषय मेघ का अध्यवसान कर लिये जाने के कारण पर्वतवाची अद्रि, ग्रावन्, गोत्र, अश्मन्, पर्वत, गिरि, उपर, उपल आदि शब्द लक्ष्यार्थ रूप मेघ का भी आक्षेप करते हैं।

(६) यास्क अवनयः, कक्ष्याः, योक्त्राणि, अभीशवः, धुरः (निघण्टु २।५, निरुक्त ३।६), हरितः, रशनाः, सनाभयः, स्वसारः तथा जामयः (निघण्टु २।५) शब्दों को अंगुलियों के वाचक मानते हैं। वस्तुतः 'अंगुलियाँ' इन शब्दों का वाच्यार्थ नहीं हैं। इनके

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५४. तुलना कीजिए संस्कृत 'अहि' ; भारोपीय angu (h) i– (सर्प) ; लिथुआनियन angis (सर्प)।

५५. तुलना कीजिए संस्कृत 'अद्रि' ; भारोपीय nd,ond- (पत्थर) ; मध्य आयरिश ond (पत्थर)।

५६. तुलना कीजिए संस्कृत 'ग्रावन्' ; भारोपीय gu (e) rā (भारी) ; वेल्श beruan (चक्की का पत्थर)। ग्रावन्=भारी पत्थर ?

५७. तुलना कीजिए संस्कृत 'अश्मन्' ; भारोपीय āk- (तीक्ष्ण) ; ग्रीक ákmon (बृहत् लौहपिंड))। अश्मन्=बृहत् पत्थर अथवा शिला।

५८. 'उपर' तथा 'उपल' में र/ल ध्वनियों का अन्तर अर्थान्तरकारक नहीं है। दोनों का मूल अर्थ 'पत्थर' ही है। 'उपल' के प्रयोगार्थ द्रष्टव्य ऋग्वेद ९। ११२।३ : "" "कारुरहं ततो भिषगुपलप्रक्षिणी' नना।

साक्षात्संकेतिक अर्थ क्रमशः नदियाँ,[५९] अश्वरज्जु,[६०] चर्म के पट्टे, लगाम, जुए,[६१] घोड़ियाँ, बन्धनरज्जु तथा बहिनें (सनाभयः, स्वसारः, जामयः) हैं। जहाँ अंगुलियों के लिये इन शब्दों का प्रयोग किया गया है वहाँ इन वस्तुओं का अंगुलियों पर सादृश्य की दृष्टि से आरोप किया गया है ; विषयी (इन वस्तुओं) द्वारा विषय (अंगुलियों) के अध्यवसान से अभेदारोप कर केवल इन वस्तुओं के वाची पदों का प्रयोग किया गया है, जो लक्ष्यार्थभूत अंगुलियों का स्वयम् आक्षेप कर लेते हैं। इस साध्यवसाना गौणी लक्षणा के प्रयोग में यहाँ व्यापारसामान्य का द्योतन प्रयोजन है।

(७) यास्क के मतानुसार शहदवाची 'मधु' शब्द[६२], 'सोम' के अर्थ में औपमिक है, अर्थात् शहदवाची 'मधु' सादृश्य के आधार पर 'सोम' का अर्थ देता है, क्योंकि तृप्ति का गुण दोनों में समान है :[६३] **"मधु सोममित्यौपमिकं माद्यतेः।। इदमपीतरन्मध्वेतस्मादेव"** (**निरुक्त** ४।८)। **"आ सिञ्चस्व जठरे मध्व ऊर्मि त्वं राजासि प्रदिवः सुतानाम्।"** (**ऋग्वेद** ३।४७।१) में 'मधु' सोम के लिए ही प्रयुक्त है। वस्तुतः 'मधु' शब्द जहाँ

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५९. तुलना कीजिए संस्कृत 'अवनि' ; भारोपीय aue (गीला करना) ; लेट्टिश avuots (उत्स,स्रोत)। 'अवनि' का प्रयोग ऋग्वेद में १५ बार हुआ है, जिनमें १२ स्थानों पर इसका अर्थ 'नदी' है। द्रष्टव्य वैजनाथ काशीनाथ राजवाड़े, **पूर्वोद्धृत ग्रन्थ**, टिप्पण, पृ० ४५२–५३ (भूमिका, पृ० ३८ पर वे इसका अर्थ 'रथ' करते हैं !)।

६०. वैजनाथ काशीनाथ राजवाड़े (**पूर्वोद्धृत ग्रन्थ**, टिप्पण, पृ० ४५३) ने 'कक्ष्या' का अर्थ 'अश्व का आवरण' (a mantle that covers a horse's body, a caparison) किया है। एतदर्थ उन्होंने **ऋग्वेद** १।१०।३; १।१७३।६ ; ७।१०४।६; ८।३।२२ ; १०।१०।१३ तथा १०।१०१।१० को उद्धृत किया है ।

६१. यास्क 'धूर्' √धूर्व् (आहत करना) से मानते हैं : "धूर्धूर्वतेर्वधकर्मणः। इयमपीतरा धूरेतस्मादेव।" (**निरुक्त** ३।९)। एलोइस वाल्दे तथा जुलिअस पोकोर्नो (*Vergleichens des Wörterbuch der Indo-germanischen Sprachen*, बर्लिन तथा लाइपत्सिश, १९३०) ने 'धुरा' शब्द उद्धृत किया है और उसे भारोपीय dhǖr (तीव्र गति से युक्त होना) से सम्बद्ध किया है।

६२. तुलना कीजिए संस्कृत 'मधु' (शहद) ; भारोपीय mĕdhu '(शहद) ; प्राचीन बुल्गेरियन medu (शहद)।

६३. द्रष्टव्य **दुर्ग-वृत्ति**, भाग १, पृ० ३१३ : " मधु सोममित्यौपमिकम्' इत्येतदुक्तं सोमस्य मधुत्वं 'माद्यतेः' धातोः। तृप्तिर्हि समाना सोमेन मध्वा चेत्यौपमिकम्। 'इदमपीतरन्मधु' माक्षिकम् 'एतस्मादेव' माद्यतेः। यत्तु सोमस्योपचारत्वेन तन्माध्वीकम्।"

'सोम' के लिए अकेला प्रयुक्त है वहाँ साध्यवसाना गौणी लक्षणा कार्यरत है। उपमेय सोम पर उपमान मधु (शहद) का आरोप कर दिया गया है ; आरोप्यमाण मधु (शहद) ने आरोपविषय सोम को निगीर्ण कर लिया है ; अतः केवल आरोप्यमाण शहदवाची 'मधु' शब्द ही का उपादान किया गया है, जो ताद्धर्म्य-सम्बन्ध से सोम रूप लक्ष्यार्थ का आक्षेप करा देता है । तृप्ति रूप गुण की प्रतीति यहाँ प्रयोजन है।

(८) यास्क ने जलों के वर्षक देवों के लिए 'वृषभ' (४।८) तथा 'वृषन्' (११।४७) शब्दों का प्रयोग वेदों में माना है। उदाहरणार्थ **'मरुत्वाँ इन्द्र वृषभो रणा य पिबा सोममनुष्वधं मदाय** (ऋग्वेद ३।४७।१) में 'वृषभ' शब्द इन्द्र के लिए ; और **'नि यत्सीं शिश्नथद्वृषा'** (**तदेव** ४।३०।१०) में 'वृषा' शब्द वायु[६४] के लिए प्रयुक्त है। वस्तुतः 'वृषभ' तथा 'वृषा' शब्दों का वाच्यार्थ 'साँड' है ; वह ताद्धर्म्य-सम्बन्ध से वर्षक देव रूप लक्ष्यार्थ में भी प्रयुक्त होता है, क्योंकि पृथिवी को वृष्टि से सिंचित करने वाला (इन्द्र आदि) देव गाय में रेतःसिंचन करने वाले साँड के सदृश है। दोनों में वर्षणःकर्म समान है। जहाँ ये शब्द वर्षक देवों के लिये अकेले अर्थात् उपमेयभूत देव रहित प्रयुक्त हैं (यथा **ऋग्वेद** ४।३०।१०) वहाँ अध्यवसान के कारण साध्यवसाना गौणी लक्षणा और जहाँ देव सहित प्रयुक्त हैं (यथा ऋग्वेद ३।४७।१ : इन्द्र वृषभः) वहाँ विषयी तथा विषय दोनों के शब्दोपात्त होने से सारोपा गौणी लक्षणा है।

(९) यास्क का कथन है कि चर्मवाची 'कृत्ति' शब्द[६५] औपम्य के कारण कन्था-रूप कृत्ति (वस्त्र) के लिये भी प्रयुक्त होता है (५।२२)। आचार्य दुर्ग की स्पष्ट उक्ति है कि अवकर्तनसामान्य के कारण चर्मरूप कृत्ति के साथ सूत्रमयी कृत्ति उपमित होती है—कृत्ति के समान कृत्ति अर्थात् कन्था[६६] । इससे स्पष्ट है कि 'कृत्ति' का मुख्यार्थ 'चर्म' है और कन्थारूप कृत्ति उसका सादृश्य के आधार पर साध्यवसाना गौणी लक्षणा से ग्रहण किया जानेवाला लक्ष्यार्थ है ; विषयी चर्मरूप कृत्ति द्वारा विषय कन्थारूप सूत्रमयी कृत्ति का निगरण हो जाता है और केवल प्रथम ही का उपादान किया जाता है।

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६४. द्रष्टव्य **दुर्ग-वृत्ति** भाग २, पृ. ९३४। वृषभ तथा 'वृषन्' √वृष् (वृष्टि करना, सिंचन करना) से व्युत्पन्न है। तुलना कीजिए संस्कृत √वृष् ; भारोपीय uers (गीला करना) ; ग्रीक érsē (ओस)।

६५. द्रष्टव्य **तैत्तिरीय-संहिता** १।८।६।२ : "अवततधन्वा पिनाकहस्तः कृत्तिवासाः" ; वाजसनेयिसंहिता १६।५१ : "कृत्तिं वसान आ चर पिनाकं बिभ्रदागहि"। 'चर्म' अर्थ के लिये देखिए एच. ग्रासमान, *Wörterbuch zum Ṛgveda* (लाइपत्सिश, १८७३), पृ. ३४७ ।

६६. **निरुक्त-वृत्ति**, भाग १, पृ० ४७३: "उपमार्थेवा'। चर्मापि कृत्तिरित्युच्यते। तयेतरा सूत्रमय्युपमीयते विकर्तनसामान्यात्। कृत्तिरिव कृत्तिः कन्था।"

(१०) यास्क ने ऋग्वेद ४।५८।८ (वाजसनेयि-संहिता १७।९६), १।१६४। ४७ (अथर्ववेद ६।२२।१), ४।५७।२ आदि में प्रयुक्त 'घृत' शब्द को उदकवाची माना है (७।१७, २४ ; १०।१६)। वस्तुतः 'घृत' शब्द का मुख्यार्थ 'घी' है[६७], उदक (वर्षा-जल) उसका लक्ष्यार्थ है[६८], जो साध्यवसाना गौणी लक्षणा द्वारा ग्रहण किया गया है। आरोप्यमाण घृत (घी) ने आरोपविषय उदक (वर्षा-जल) का निगरण कर लिया है ; अतः ऐसे स्थलों पर आरोप्यमाण (घृत) ही का उपादान किया गया है। पुष्टिरूप सदृश गुण ही इसमें हेतु है : जैसे घृत खाने वाले मनुष्य को पुष्ट करता है वैसे ही वर्षा-जल ओषधियों एवं वनस्पतियों आदि को पुष्ट करता है।

लाक्षणिक प्रयोगों के उपरिगत विश्लेषण से सुस्पष्ट है कि महामति यास्क लक्षणा-व्यापार से सुपरिचित थे, यद्यपि उन्होंने उसका स्वतन्त्र विवेचन एवं उसके भेद-प्रभेदों का प्रतिपादन नहीं किया है। उनके समय में इस शब्द-व्यापार को 'भक्ति' कहा जाता

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६७. तुलना कीजिए संस्कृत 'घृत' (घी) ; भारोपीय ghrto-, gherto-(दुग्ध, नवनीत) ; आयरिश gert (दुग्ध)। ऋग्वेद (३।१८।३) तथा अथर्ववेद (७।८२।६) में 'घृत' के साथ 'इध्म' (प्रदीप्त करनेवाला) तथा 'समिन्धे' (सम्+√इन्ध्) का प्रयोग किया गया है, जिससे इस शब्द की प्रकृति √घृ (प्रदीप्त अथवा प्रज्ज्वलित करना) सिद्ध होती है । कपिष्ठलकठसंहिता (३७।८) के अनुसार (सम्भवतः छींक के समय) 'घृङ्' ध्वनि करने के कारण (शब्दानुकरण पर) इसे 'घृत कहा जाता है । दूसरी ओर, यास्क ने इसे सिंचनार्थक √घृ से माना है : "घृतमित्युदकनाम, जिघर्तेः सिञ्चतिकर्मणः ।" (निरुक्त ७।२४)। वे सम्भवतः जलवाची 'घृत' को 'दीप्ति' अर्थ से भी सम्बद्ध मानते हैं ; यह बात उनके इस कथन से स्पष्ट है कि माध्यमिक अग्नि (विद्युत्) जल से प्रज्ज्वलित होती है: "यत्र वैद्युतः शरणमभिहन्ति, यावदनुपात्तो भवति मध्यमधर्मेव तावद् भवति– उदकेन्धनः शरीरोपशमनः।" (तदेव ७।२३)। सिंचन' अर्थ में √घृ का प्रयोग अथर्ववेद (१०।६।२५) में भी हुआ है। वैयाकरण इसे 'सिंचन' तथा दीप्ति' दोनों अर्थों में मानते हैं (द्रष्टव्य माधवीया धातुवृत्ति १।९२०: घृ सेचने ; ३।१४: घृ क्षरणदीप्त्योः) और 'घृत' को सिंचनार्थक √घृ से मानते हैं (द्रष्टव्य महाभाष्य ७।१।९५, वार्तिक ८, घरतिरस्मा अविशेषेणोपदिष्टः स घृतम् घृणा घर्म इत्येवं विषयः" ; प्रदीपः "'गृ घृ सेचने' इति भौवादिकः" ; उणादिसूत्र ३।८९:" अञ्जिघृसिभ्यः क्तः ।" द्रष्टव्य पं. शिवनारायण शास्त्री, वैदिक वाङ्मय में भाषा-चिन्तन (दिल्ली : इण्डोलॉजिकल बुक हाउस, प्रथम संस्करण, १९७२) पृ. ५८–५९ ।

६८. द्रष्टव्य सिद्धेश्वर वर्मा, *The Etymologies of Yāska* (होशियारपुर : विश्वेश्वरानन्द वैदिक शोध-संस्थान, प्रथम संस्करण, १९५३), पृ. ५५–५६।

था। यह अभिधान परवर्ती काल में भी पर्याप्त प्रचलित रहा है। कार्यकारणभाव, उत्पाद्योत्पादकभाव, विकार्यविकारिभाव, अवयवावयविभाव, गुणगुणिभाव, योग, क्रियायोग, सादृश्य आदि सम्बन्धों के आधार पर हेतुविशेष अथवा प्रयोजनविशेष से किसी शब्द के साक्षात्संकेतित मुख्यार्थ के स्थान पर अथवा उससे सहकृत अन्य तत्सम्बद्ध अर्थ का ग्रहण कर लिया जाता था। यास्क भाषा की इस प्रवृत्ति से परिचित थे। यद्यपि उन्होंने 'पृश्नि' के आदित्य, 'अवस' के गाएँ; 'गो' के आदित्य तथा रश्मि; 'अहि' के मेघ; 'अद्रि, 'ग्रावन्', 'अश्मन्', 'पर्वत', 'गिरि', 'उपर', तथा 'उपल' के मेघ; 'अवनयः', कक्ष्याः', 'योक्त्राणि', 'अभीशवः, 'धुरः', 'हरितः', 'रशनाः', 'सनाभयः', 'स्वसारः', तथा 'जामयः' के अंगुलियाँ; 'वृषभ' तथा 'वृषन्' के वर्षक देव; और 'घृत' के वर्षा-जल रूप लक्ष्यार्थों के पीछे निहित उपचार का विश्लेषण नहीं किया है तथापि वे उससे परिचित अवश्य रहे होंगे; उन्होंने उसे स्पष्टतः अभिव्यक्ति प्रदान नहीं की। लोकप्रयोग के कारण अपने लक्ष्यार्थ में रूढ अथवा प्रसिद्ध शब्दों के उपरिगत विवेचन से यह भी स्पष्ट है कि शब्द गुणगुणिभाव आदि सम्बन्धों के अतिरिक्त सादृश्य-सम्बन्ध के आधार पर भी प्रयोजनविशेष की दृष्टि से अपने लक्ष्यार्थ में प्रचलित हो जाते हैं। प्रयोजनवती लक्षणा में प्रयोजन प्रयोग-प्रवाह के कारण तिरोहित अथवा भ्रष्ट न होकर स्फुट एवं सरलतया बुद्धिगम्य रहता है, जबकि निरूढा लक्षणा में शब्द के अपने लक्ष्यार्थ में सुदीर्घ काल से प्रयुक्त होते रहने के कारण उसके बोध की आवश्यकता अनुभव नहीं की जाती और वह क्रमशः दृष्टि से ओझल हो जाता है। प्रयोजनवती लक्षणा में शब्द अपने लक्ष्यार्थ में प्रयोजनविशेष के उद्देश्य से यदा-कदा किसी अवसरविशेष ही पर प्रयुक्त होता है, उसमें प्रयोग-प्रवाह से रूढ अथवा प्रसिद्ध एवं प्रचलित नहीं होता। प्रयोग-प्रवाह निरूढा तथा प्रयोजनवती लक्षणा का भेदक तत्त्व माना जा सकता है। भाषा के अर्थ-विकास में लक्षणा वृत्ति ने अत्यधिक योग दिया है।

विगत दशक (१९६१ से ७२ ई०) के संस्कृत महाकाव्य

डा० रहसविहारी द्विवेदी

जबलपुर

Modern Sanskrit epic writing is a little away from the beaten track in the sense that side by side with the traditional themes it also touches the burning problems of the society and nation. In these, one may feel the pulse of the nation.

संस्कृत साहित्य की धारा वैदिक काल से वर्तमान समय तक प्रवाहित है। बीसवीं शती में राजनीतिक और सामाजिक व्याघातों को सहते हुए भी संस्कृत महाकाव्य-प्रणयन में गतिरोध नहीं हुआ। स्वतंत्रता-प्राप्ति के बाद शताधिक संस्कृत महाकाव्यों की रचनाएँ की गयी हैं। बीसवीं शती का सप्तम दशक संस्कृत महाकाव्य लेखन की दृष्टि से अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण है। इस शती के प्रारंभ से ही अंग्रेजी, बँगला, हिन्दी प्रभृति भाषाओं के संपर्क से इसमें लघुकथा (कहानी) उपन्यास, जीवनी, यात्रा-साहित्य, पत्रलेखन, निवन्ध, प्रबन्ध, मुक्तक और मात्रिक छन्दों की तुकान्त कविताएँ आदि अभिनव विधाओं का द्रुतगति से विकास हुआ है। इस अवधि में संस्कृत की पत्र-पत्रिकाओं का भी प्रभूत विकास हुआ है। उक्त लघुकाय विधाओं के प्रचार-प्रसार में इन पत्र-पत्रिकाओं का पर्याप्त योगदान है। स्वतंत्रता-प्राप्ति के बाद संस्कृत में नवलेखन को बहुत प्रोत्साहन मिला है। 'रेडियो-रूपक', 'रेडियो वार्ता' आदि संस्कृत की नवीन लोकप्रिय विधाओं का प्रभूत विकास इस अवधि की महती उपलब्धि है। आधुनिक कार्यव्यस्त पाठकों के बीच साहित्य के लघु रूप अधिक प्रश्रय पाने लगे हैं। इनका लेखन, प्रकाशन और प्रचार भी यथाशीघ्र हो जाता है। अतः इस ओर साहित्यकारों का अधिक झुकाव होना स्वाभाविक है।

इस दशक में महाकाव्य लेखन की ओर अन्य भाषाओं के साहित्यकारों की रुचि अपेक्षाकृत कम हो गयी। किन्तु संस्कृत के दृष्टिसम्पन्न प्रज्ञावान् कवियों ने अमित संरम्भ और धैर्य के साथ अनेकविध महाकाव्यों का प्रणयन किया है। इस दशक में महाकाव्य-प्रणयन की गति जितनी तेज रही है उतनी लौकिक संस्कृत साहित्य के आदिकाल से आज तक देखने को नहीं मिलती। इस दशक में ५० से अधिक महाकाव्यों का प्रणयन किया गया है। कुछ कवि समपेक्षित अर्थादि के अभाव से

त्रस्त और तथाकथित प्राध्यापकादि के पद पर नहीं रहे, तथापि उनके द्वारा सधैर्य उत्तम महाकाव्यों की सृष्टि संस्कृत कवियों की कठिन साहित्य-साधना और आत्मविश्वास का महता कण्ठेन उद्घोष कर रही है।

इस अवधि के महाकाव्यों की–विषयवस्तु में वैविध्य दिखाई देता है। परम्पराप्राप्त रामायण, महाभारतादि से वस्तुग्रहण के साथ वर्तमान जनमानस में परिव्याप्त शिवाजी, झांसी की रानी, तिलक, गाँधी, सुभाष, नेहरू, मालवीय आदि स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के सेनानी, स्वामी विवेकानन्द, एकनाथ, नारायण, योगिभक्त, ज्ञानानन्द प्रभृति सन्त-महात्माओं, लेनिन आदि सामाजिक और आर्थिक क्रान्तिकारियों तथा राष्ट्र और समाज में अभिव्याप्त समस्याओं को महाकाव्यों की विषयवस्तु के रूप में ग्रहण किया गया है। कवियों का एक वर्ग ऐसा भी है जिसने अन्य भाषाओं की लब्धप्रचार लोकप्रिय रचनाओं के समश्लोकी अनुवाद किए हैं। इस दशक में संस्कृत महाकाव्य के रूप में रूपान्तरित हिन्दी के 'कामायनी', 'प्रियप्रवास' और 'रामचरितमानस', अंग्रेजी के 'सावित्री', मलयालम के 'केशवीयम्' आदि विशेषरूप से उल्लेखनीय हैं। ये कृतियाँ भी मूल रचना जैसी आह्लादक्षम हैं।

इस दशक के महाकाव्यकारों के प्राचीन रूढ़ उद्देश्य नहीं हैं। इनमें शासन, समाज या धर्म की दिशा में होने वाले अन्यायों का विरोधी स्वर है। प्राचीन काल की शारीरिक चेतना के स्थान पर मानसिक, सामाजिक, राजनीतिक और राष्ट्रिय चेतना की तीव्र उद्भावना हुई है। राष्ट्रीय जीवन के साथ सामरस्य, महापुरुषों के प्रेरक व्यक्तित्वों का आकलन, प्राचीन प्रख्यात कथानकों में युगानुरूप संशोधन और सम्वर्धन, पूर्व कवियों द्वारा अस्पृष्ट विषयों का समावेश, शास्त्रीय रूढ़ परम्पराओं और सामाजिक (वर्तमान जीवन के लिए) अनुपयोगी प्रथाओं का परित्याग, राष्ट्रिय एकता और चेतना को संबल प्रदान करने वाली भावनाओं की उद्भावना आदि इन महाकाव्यों का व्यावहारिक प्रयोजन है। इन राष्ट्रवादी स्वरों के साथ सहृदय-हृदय-सम्वेद्य आह्लादकता और कान्तासम्मित उपदेश का प्राचीन उद्देश्य भी सर्वथा सुरक्षित है। रुक्मिणीहरणकार का उद्देश्य प्राचीन काव्यशास्त्रीय मान्यताओं और श्रीहर्षादि के महाकाव्य शिल्प का अनुगमन करके उन दिगन्तविश्रुत कवियों से भी बढ़-चढ़कर वर्णन करना है। इस प्रकार इस दशक के महाकाव्यकार प्राचीन शिल्प की सुरक्षा और संवर्धन—दोनों तरफ प्रवृत्त दिखाई देते हैं।

इस दशाब्दि के महाकाव्यों में कथावस्तु सम्बन्धी प्राचीन धारणाओं में अनेक परिवर्तन हुए हैं। आधुनिक बुद्धिवाद ने अनेक मान्यताओं को विखण्डित कर दिया। ज्ञान-विज्ञान के नवीन आलोक को कथानक की जीर्ण-परम्पराएँ न सह सकीं। अधिकांश काव्यों में कथाद्रव्य उस सीमा तक नहीं स्वीकार किया गया है जिस सीमा तक उनकी आवश्यकता प्राचीन महाकाव्यों में मानी गयी थी। अनेक ऐसे महाकाव्य हैं जिनमें कथा-

नक की मांसलता न रह कर विचारों, चिन्तनों और मनोवैज्ञानिक चित्रणों का प्राधान्य है। तर्जनी, भूभामिनीविभ्रमम्, लेलिनामृतम्, प्रभृति महाकाव्यों में यह स्थिति विशेष रूप से देखने को मिलती है। इस अवधि के महाकाव्यकारों द्वारा कथानकों के मार्मिक और समाजोपयोगी अंशों का चुनाव बड़ी सूझ-बूझ के साथ किया गया है। उदाहरणार्थ—'गणपतिसम्भवम्' में गणपति, साक्षात्कार देने वाले युवक, द्वारपाल, राष्ट्र-रक्षक सैनिक, लिपिक और राष्ट्रपति की भूमिका में प्रस्तुत किए गए हैं तथापि उनका देवत्व सुरक्षित है। 'सीताचरितम्', 'गंगासागरीयम्' प्रभृति काव्यों में साम्प्रतिक नारी-जागरण की अभिव्यंजना हुई है। इस दशक के काव्यों की नारियाँ प्रायः करुणा की मूर्ति न होकर पुरुषों के सदृश समाज में अपना व्यापक स्थान रखती हैं। अनेकत्र इन्हें प्रधानपात्र के रूप में भी प्रस्तुत किया गया है। देवता पात्रों में मानवत्व और मानव-पात्रों में देवत्व की प्रतिष्ठा कर उन्हें यथार्थ की भावभूमि पर प्रस्तुत किया गया है। सीताचरितादि में प्राचीन कथानकों के आक्षेपग्रस्त अंशों को परिवर्तित करने का प्रयास किया गया है।

इस दशक के महाकाव्यों में चातुर्वर्ण और आश्रम पर आधारित समाज की मध्यकालीन संस्कृत साहित्य की परिकल्पना से हट कर मानव मात्र के अखण्ड समाज की संकल्पना साकार हुई है। आजन्म समत्व-समन्वित राष्ट्र सेवा तथा जन-कल्याण की भावना सर्वत्र उद्भावित है। व्यष्टि-रूप में अपने धर्म का अनुपालन करते हुए भी राष्ट्रीय एकता को महत्त्व दिया गया है। आज के राष्ट्रीय-एकता के युग में इन महाकाव्यों का स्वर अत्यन्त उपयोगी है :—

वर्ण-धर्म-वचो-वृत्ति-भेदवत्यपि यद्भुता ।।
शैलादासिन्धुदेशेऽस्मिन्नेकभावा हि देहिनः ।।
विभिन्नधर्मवर्त्मानो विभिन्नाजीववर्तिनः ।
विभिन्नाचारवन्तोऽपि नोद्वेगाय परस्परम् । 'क्षत्रपतिचरितम्' (१।३६,१६)

समाज के लिए व्यक्ति का बड़े से बड़ा त्याग अभिव्यक्त हुआ है, प्रत्येक महाकाव्य के प्रमुख पात्र के चरित्र का यह प्रमुख वैशिष्ट्य है। परिवार से समाज को अधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण निरूपित किया गया है। परिवार अपने समाज और राष्ट्र के कल्याण के लिए अपने प्रिय से प्रिय सदस्य को अर्पित करने में परम सुख और शान्ति का अनुभव करता है।[1] संकुचित वर्गविहीन समाज और समग्र विश्व के प्रति बन्धुत्व[2] का

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१. क्षत्रपति को राष्ट्र के लिए समर्पित करती हुई जिजा का कथन है—
मदेकपुत्रं नहि केवलं शिवं परं महाराष्ट्र धरानभोमणिम् ।
सुमेधसः सन्नयथ प्रभोज्ज्वलं तमोऽन्तरायोऽभिभवेन्नतद्रुचम् ।।(क्षत्रपतिचरितम् ८।५०)

२. धिक्कोऽयं निजरुचिनामको जनानां विश्वस्मिन् मनसिशयोऽस्तिभेदहेतुः ।
येनेदं जगदखिलं समुद्रशैलनद्याद्यैः शकलितमेकतां न याति ।।।(सीताचरितम्–५।१०)

भाव शतधा व्यक्त हुआ है। काव्यों के नेता निर्भीक किन्तु विनम्र हैं, उनके नेतृत्व में समत्व की गरिमा है।

इन महाकाव्यों में धर्म और दर्शन का उपस्थापन सहिष्णुता से अनुप्राणित है। यत्र-तत्र सर्वधर्म-समन्वय का प्रयास किया गया है। धर्मों की प्रतिष्ठा और अनुपालन में अन्योन्य ईर्ष्या और कटुता की भावना नहीं है। विविध धर्मों के प्रतिपादित उदात्त-कर्मों की प्रेरक उद्भावनाएँ की गयी हैं। तथाकथित धर्मों के उन अंशों की विशेष रूप से उद्भावना की गई है जो धर्म और सम्प्रदाय के कारण उत्पन्न खाई को पाटने का कार्य करते हैं। समस्त धर्म राष्ट्रधर्म में परिणत हैं, सब में लोक कल्याण की भावना अनुस्यूत है।

इन महाकाव्यों पर समसामयिक राजनीति का गहरा प्रभाव पड़ा है। मुक्ति-आन्दोलन और तज्जन्य स्वातंत्र्य, विश्वशान्ति का प्रयास, चीन और पाक का संघर्ष, देश की आन्तरिक अन्य गतिविधियों की क्रिया-प्रतिक्रिया अनेक रूपों में अभिव्यंजित है। गणतंत्र प्रशासन में अधिकार और महत्त्व की शोभन प्रतिष्ठा हुई है। राष्ट्रनेता के लिए बलिदान भावना, त्याग, राष्ट्रानुराग और समत्व-भावना की आवश्यकता पर बल दिया गया है। जनता की उपेक्षा, पदलोलुपता और स्वार्थपरता की कटु आलोचना की गयी है। इन काव्यों में समाजोन्मुख राजनीति रूपायित हुई है। राष्ट्रनेता निजी स्वार्थों की तिलांजलि देकर जनता को सर्वविध सुख और शान्ति प्रदान करने में सन्तोष का अनुभव करता है। वह जनता को हीनग्रन्थि तथा संकुचित क्षेत्रीय और जातिवादादि की भावना से ऊँचे उठाकर उसमें व्यापक आत्मीय भाव और राष्ट्रीय चेतना उत्पन्न करने का प्रयास करता है।

प्रबल राष्ट्रीय भावना इन महाकाव्यों में परिव्याप्त है। भारतीय संस्कृति तथा भौगोलिक परिवेश, राष्ट्ररक्षा और स्वातंत्र्य की भावना[3], सामान्य जन-जीवन का रागात्मक चित्रण, राष्ट्र-कल्याण और सर्वोदय की समीहा पद-पद पर अभिवर्णित है। स्वातंत्र्योत्तर संस्कृत साहित्य में राष्ट्रीयता की भावना सर्वत्र देखने को मिलती है किन्तु इस दशक में चीन और पाकिस्तान के आक्रमण के कारण अभिनव चेतना के साथ राष्ट्रीयता की भावना समधिक प्रबल हो उठी है। परिणामतः इस अवधि में प्रणीत इन महाकाव्यों में इस भावना का चरमोत्कर्ष दिखाई देता है। न केवल आधुनिक विषयों पर आधारित अपितु प्राचीन साहित्य पर आधारित **'गणपतिसम्भवम्'**, **'सीताचरितम्'** प्रभृति महाकाव्यों में यह भावना अपने शिखर पर है। **'क्षत्रपतिचरितम्'** और **शिवराज्योदयम्'** में आप्रबन्ध राष्ट्रीय भावना छलक रही है, इनकी राष्ट्रवादिता का प्रेरक

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३. स्वतन्त्रतासिद्धिनवाध्वरोत्सवे प्रदीप्तहव्याशनहव्ययोग्यताम्।
वहन्तु सर्वेऽपि तथापि निर्भयं समेधनीयैव विकस्वरा शिखा॥
क्षत्रपतिचरितम्–८।२०)

आकलन तिलक और सुभाषादि पर आधारित महाकाव्यों से भी न्यून नहीं है। इस दशक के महाकाव्यों की राष्ट्रीय भावना को देखते हुए इसे 'राष्ट्रीय महाकाव्ययुग' की संज्ञा दी जा सकती है।

यथार्थ वर्णन और स्वाभाविकता इस काल के महाकाव्यों की अन्य महत्त्वपूर्ण विशेषता है। इनमें वर्णन की प्रधानता न होकर विषय और वक्तव्य की प्रधानता है। भारत के महान् राष्ट्रसेवकों तथा लेनिनादि-विश्वस्तर की सामाजिक और आर्थिक-क्रान्ति करने वाले विचारकों के जीवन का यथायथ वर्णन अत्यन्त प्रेरणाप्रद और स्वाभाविक बन पड़ा है। प्राचीन साहित्य के प्रशस्तिपूर्ण अतिरंजनामय वर्णनों का इन महाकाव्यों में अभाव है। प्राचीन साहित्य पर आधारित "रुक्मिणीहरण" को छोड़ कर अन्य महाकाव्यों में प्रायः विषय और वक्तव्य का ही प्राधान्य है। इन महाकाव्यों में प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में यथार्थ की समधिक प्रतिष्ठा हुई है। कथावस्तुपल्लवन, वातावरण और पात्र सब कुछ आधुनिक वातावरण के अनुकूल और यथार्थ के निकट है। इसमें वैभव का अतिशयोक्ति प्रधान विलास नहीं दिखाई देता। आज के संस्कृत महाकाव्यकार अपनी रचना के माध्यम से समाज को जागृत करना चाहते हैं। इनका उद्देश्य जन-जन में नवोन्मेष और स्फूर्ति का संचार करना है। अतएव जीवन की वास्तविक स्थिति के चित्रण में ही इनकी अभिरुचि है। यह कार्य कोरे यथार्थ और आदर्श से संभव नहीं पाता। इन महाकाव्यों में आदर्शोन्मुख यथार्थ की स्वाभाविक प्रतिष्ठा हुई है। राष्ट्र और समाज के पुनर्निर्माण और पुनर्जागरण के लिए आज इन महाकाव्यों का अध्ययन और इनकी भावनाओं का व्यापक प्रसार परम कल्याणप्रद होगा। इन महाकाव्यों में भामह आदि की शास्त्रीय मान्यताओं तथा प्राचीन महाकाव्य के शिल्पों का स्वीकार-परिहार दृष्टिगोचर होता है। इन महाकाव्यकारों ने प्राचीन संस्कृत महाकाव्यों तथा अन्य भाषाओं से पर्याप्त प्रेरणा ग्रहण करने के बाद भी अपनी मेधा को अन्धानुगामिनी नहीं रखा है। इनकी रचनाओं में पूर्व शिल्पों का युगानुरूप संशोधन और परिवर्तन किया गया है।

वस्तुविन्यास में प्राचीन साहित्य और शिवाजी पर आधारित महाकाव्यों को छोड़ कर प्रायः नाट्यसंधियों के निर्वाह और सुखान्तता की ओर कवियों का आग्रह नहीं दिखाई देता। आधुनिक चरितों पर आधारित महाकाव्यों में चरितनायकों के मृत्युपर्यन्त वर्णन के कारण वे प्रायः दुःखान्त ही कहे जा सकते हैं। राष्ट्रकल्याण के लिए आजन्म प्रयत्नशील तथा आफलोदयकर्मा (तिलक, गान्धी, सुभाष, नेहरू आदि) चरितनायकों के समग्र जीवन के वर्णन की दृष्टि से उनकी अन्तिम यात्रा तक का वर्णन और उनके प्रति राष्ट्र की प्रतिक्रिया का वर्णन अनुचित भी नहीं प्रतीत होता। शिवाजी तथा प्राचीन साहित्य पर आधारित महाकाव्य सुखान्त हैं। सीता के उत्तर चरित पर आधारित **"सीताचरितम्"** जिसके करुणान्त होने की सम्भावना हो सकती थी उसे सीता के स्वतः वनगमन के प्रस्ताव, पौत्रों के संस्कार के लिए कौशल्या की अभिस्वीकृति से वाल्मीकि के आश्रम में सम्प्रेषण और अन्ततः समाधिमांगल्य द्वारा सीता की भू-समाधि

का वर्णन कर कवि ने उसे भी मंगलान्त कर दिया है। गणेश और शिवराज आदि को अन्ततः राज्याभिषिक्त करके उनके प्रशासन की सुभग कल्पना में आधुनिक प्रशासकीय नियमों का अभिव्यंजन किया गया है। इन महाकाव्यों के वस्तुविन्यास में जनता, राष्ट्रनेता और प्रशासकों के कर्त्तव्यों के प्रेरक अभिव्यंजन के लिये पर्याप्त अवसर निकाला गया है किन्तु लब्ध प्रचार आधुनिक कथावस्तुओं को नाट्य सन्धियों के लिए परिवर्तित करने का प्रयास नहीं किया गया है। **"बोधिसत्वचरितम्"** में नाट्यसन्धियों के स्थान पर बौद्धों के अष्टांग मार्ग को कथानक में अनुस्यूत किया गया है। वस्तुविन्यास में महाकाव्यकार सर्गबद्धता आदि में प्राचीन परम्परा के अनुगामी होकर वैचारिक प्रतिष्ठा तथा वस्तुविकास में स्वयं की मेधा का उपयोग करते दिखाई देते हैं। शास्त्रीय विधि से नाट्यसन्धियों का निर्वाह और युग चेतना के अनुरूप वस्तुपरिवर्तन के कारण **गणपतिसम्भवम्, क्षत्रपतिचरितम्, शिवराज्योदयम्, सीताचरितम्** और **रुक्मिणीहरणम्** ये पाँच महाकाव्य इस दशक के प्रथम श्रेणी के महाकाव्य कहे जाने के अधिकारी हैं। इन महाकाव्यों में प्राचीन मान्यताओं के प्रति श्रद्धा और आधुनिकता के प्रति आकर्षण-दोनों का अद्भुत और आवर्जक संगम दिखाई देता है।

इस दशाब्दि के महाकाव्यों में प्रमुख पात्र के रूप में गणेश, गंगा, उर्मिला, श्रीकृष्ण आदि प्राचीन पात्रों के साथ राष्ट्रनेताओं और सन्त-महात्माओं को भी स्थान दिया गया है। तथाकथित नायिकाओं और प्रतिनायकों का अधिकांश महाकाव्यों में अभाव है। गणेश, श्रीकृष्णादि को आधुनिक उदारचरित नेताओं और नारी पात्रों को वर्तमान जागृत नारी के रूप में प्रस्तुत किया गया है। सद्वंश और क्षत्रियकुलोत्पन्न नायक की पूर्व मान्यताओं के विपरीत आज गुण और सामाजिक अर्हता को महत्त्व दिया गया है। राष्ट्रनेताओं और धर्मनेताओं का राष्ट्रस्वभावानुकूल चरित्रांकन किया गया है।

इस दशक में 'श्रृंगार-वीर-शान्तानामेकोऽङ्गीरस इष्यते'— के प्रति कवियों का योजनाबद्ध आग्रह नहीं दिखाई देता, आपाततः भले ही श्रृंगार, वीर और शान्त भी अंगी रस के रूप में उपलब्ध हैं। इन महाकाव्यों में श्रृंगार के विपरीत रसराज के रूप में राष्ट्रभक्ति परिमलित वीर को ही प्रतिष्ठित किया गया है। शारीरिक चेतना के स्थान पर सामाजिक और राष्ट्रीय चेतना की ओर इन महाकाव्यों के उन्मुख होने के कारण प्रायः श्रृंगार के प्रति उदासीनता दिखाई देती है। स्वतन्त्रता-संग्राम के सेनानियों, संत-महात्माओं और राष्ट्रचेता व्यक्तित्वों के आकलन में श्रृंगार की उपेक्षा दूषण भी नहीं कही जा सकती। अधिकांश महाकाव्यों में राष्ट्रभक्ति युक्त वीर को ही अंगी बनाया गया है। इस दशक में श्रृंगार की स्थिति पहले से पर्याप्त भिन्न है। नायक-नायिका को आश्रय बनाकर किसी काव्य में उद्दाम श्रृंगार का वर्णन नहीं किया गया है। **रुक्मिणीहरण** जैसे रससिद्ध महाकाव्य में विप्रलम्भ श्रृंगार अंगी है किन्तु उसे देवादिविषयारति (कृष्ण के प्रति रुक्मिणी की सर्वथा कामुकतारहित दृढ़ भक्ति) तथा धर्म वीर से अनुप्राणित करके प्रस्तुत किया गया है। इसी प्रकार 'गंगासागरीयम्' का अंगी-रस

विप्रलम्भश्रृंगार है किन्तु उसे भी विलास रहित और धर्मवीरसमन्वित किया गया है। **गणपतिसम्भवकार** ने संयोग श्रृंगार का अंग के रूप में तथा शंकर-पार्वती को उसका आश्रय बनाकर वर्णन किया है किन्तु योग को, श्रृंगार को योग के अद्वैत-रस में मिलाकर इतने शिष्ट और आवर्जक रूप में प्रस्तुत किया है कि लगता है, यह स्थल (तृतीय सर्ग, योगशक्तिचमत्कृति) समस्त संस्कृत साहित्य में अनुपम है। अन्यत्र संयोग श्रृंगार का प्राय: अभाव है। **रुक्मिणीहरण** और **क्षत्रपतिचरित** में गौणपत्राश्रित संयोग श्रृंगार स्वल्प किन्तु प्रभावपूर्ण है। **बोधिसत्वचरितम्** में मानवोचित दुर्बलता के चित्रण में नायकाश्रित श्रृंगाराभास का वर्णन हुआ है जिसे काव्यशास्त्रियों ने अनौचित्यप्रवर्तित शब्द से परिभाषित किया है, किन्तु तत्संबद्ध पात्र अन्ततः अपनी दुर्बलता पर विजय प्राप्त कर लेता है। अत: यहाँ श्रृंगाराभास परिणाम रमणीय होने से अनुचित नहीं कहा जा सकता। अंगीरस के रूप में वीर, श्रृंगार और शान्त तथा अंग के रूप में यथास्थल प्राय: सभी रसों का परिपाक दिखायी देता है।

प्राचीन महाकाव्यों के अखण्ड दण्डायमान शब्दों, ग्रन्थ-ग्रन्थियों और दुरूह प्रयोगों का इन महाकाव्यों में सर्वथा अभाव है। पूर्व की अपेक्षा सरलतर भाषा-शैली में ये महाकाव्य उपनिबद्ध हैं। भाषा को अतिशय स्वाभाविक और बोधगम्य बनाने के लिए आँग्लादि भाषा के लब्ध-प्रचार शब्दों का प्रयोग यत्र-तत्र देखने को मिलता है। संस्कृत व्याकरण और कोश पर असाधारण अधिकार रखने वाले **गणपतिसम्भवकार** जैसे कवि द्वारा–"या कोपतोपप्रिया" "ग्रामोफोनरवा च वृद्धवनिता" "टैंकान् वक्रमुखान् शशांकसदृशान्" जैसे मोहक प्रयोगों को प्रस्तुत कर अपने भाषागत उदार दृष्टिकोण का परिचय दिया गया है। इसी प्रकार **तिलकयशोर्णवः** प्रभृति आधुनिक कथानकों पर आधारित लगभग समस्त महाकाव्यों में सर्वविदित अन्य भाषाओं के शब्दों का यत्र-तत्र प्रयोग किया गया है।

रुक्मिणीहरणम् और **सीताचरितम्** प्रभृति कतिपय काव्यों में अन्य भाषा के शब्दों का प्रयोग नहीं किया गया है। कवियों का एक वर्ग ऐसा भी है जो अन्य भाषा के शब्दों का रूपान्तरित तथा कहीं-कहीं तथैव प्रयोग करता है। कुल मिलाकर इन महाकाव्यों की भाषा सरल, स्वाभाविक यदा-कदा मुहावरेदार है। सर्वत्र वैदर्भी-रीति और प्रसाद-गुण का वैभव बिखर रहा है। भाषा प्राय: शब्दाडंबर और शब्दालंकारों से बोझिल नहीं है। आधुनिक विषयों पर आधारित काव्यों में कहीं कहीं कुछ दूर तक अलंकारों का अभाव दिखायी देता है किन्तु अन्य काव्यों में सर्वत्र सालंकार वाक्ययोजना दिखाई देती है। प्राचीन उपमानों का नवीनीकरण करते हुए आधुनिक उपमानों का समावेश किया गया है। अभिनव अर्थान्तरों और प्रेरक सूक्तियों की योजना की गयी है।

इन काव्यों के शिल्प का वैशिष्ट्य यह है कि प्रारम्भ में रेखांकन करके अग्रिम वर्णन में उसी में रंग भर कर सजाया गया है। संवाद अभिभाषण, सभा, यात्रा और वस्तु-व्यापारादि के सन्तुलित वर्णन के साथ कथानक को आगे बढ़ाया गया है।

इस दशाब्दि के महाकाव्यों में विशेष रूप से **रुक्मिणीहरण** को छोड़कर प्रायः सौन्दर्य, प्रकृति और स्थानादि का अत्यन्त सन्तुलित और वस्तु-सम्पृक्त चित्रण किया गया है। काव्यशास्त्रियों की सूची के अनुसार वर्णन करने का आग्रह नहीं दिखाई देता। ऐसे वर्णनों को सर्वथा छोड़ दिया गया है जिनका वास्तविक जीवन से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है। वर्णन स्वाभाविक और यथार्थ की भावभूमि पर प्रस्तुत किए गए हैं। सभा-स्थल, जुलूस, विश्वविद्यालय, महाविद्यालय, महानगर, आधुनिक वाहन, युद्धोपकरण, यात्रा, विविध वैज्ञानिक उपकरण, रीति-रिवाज, वेशभूषा आदि का सामयिक वर्णन किया गया है। विकृत समाज के प्रतिबिम्बन के लिए जुआड़ी, शराबी, वेश्यागामी, दलबदलू, घूसखोर, पदलोलुप और वंचक आदि का भी वर्णन यत्र-तत्र हुआ है। भारतेतर राष्ट्रों, में ब्रिटेन, अमेरिका, रूस आदि की भौगोलिक और सांस्कृतिक गतिविधियों, रीति-रिवाज, वेशविन्यास आदि का वर्णन भी कुछ काव्यों में किया गया है। वर्णनों का कथावस्तु के साथ सामरस्य और सन्तुलन इस अवधि की विशेषता है।

छन्दोयोजना प्रायः प्राचीन महाकाव्यों के सदृश है। **गणपतिसम्भवकार** ने पाश्चात्य 'एपिक' की पद्धति अपना कर ही शक्तिशाली छन्द (शार्दूलविक्रीडित) में समग्र काव्य की रचना की है। अत्यन्त विशिष्टभाव परिवर्तन के लिए इन्होंने भी गीतों तथा 'राष्ट्रगीत' के लिए राष्ट्रगीत के ही छन्द का प्रयोग किया है। विशिष्ट लयात्मकता के लिए कतिपय कवियों ने यथावसर अन्त्यानुप्रास तथा तुकान्त गीतों की योजनाएँ की हैं। इस दशक के महाकाव्यों के आकार में वैविध्य है। पाँच सौ पद्यों से बारह हजार पद्यों तक के महाकाव्यों की सृष्टि हुई है। अधिकांश महाकाव्यों की सर्ग-संख्याएं बीस के आस-पास हैं। कुछ कवियों ने आधुनिक पाठकों की कार्यव्यस्तता को ध्यान में रखते हुए लघुकाय (**सीताचरितम्, गंगासागरीयम्, सुभाषचरितम्** आदि) महाकाव्यों की रचना की है किन्तु इसके विपरीत कुछ कवियों ने विशालकाय महाकाव्यों का सर्जन किया है। इसमें **तिलकयशोर्णव** (६५ सर्ग) तथा **शिवराज्योदय** (६८ सर्ग) विशेष रूप से उल्लेखनीय हैं। कथानक के प्रत्येक पक्ष को उद्‌घाटित करने के कारण ये दोनों काव्य अपेक्षाकृत पर्याप्त विशाल हो गए हैं किन्तु ये रचनाएँ इतने धैर्य और मनोयोग के साथ की गयी हैं कि आद्यन्त भाषा और रसभावादि का प्रवाह शिथिल नहीं हुआ है।

अभिनव राष्ट्रीय चेतना, उदात्त मानव मूल्यों की स्थापना, उदात्त और स्वाभाविक भाषा-शिल्प, परमगुणयुक्त प्रमुख पात्रों की सृष्टि, युगानुरूप विविध विषयों का वस्तु के रूप में ग्रहण, सहृदय-हृदय संवेद्य रससिक्त वर्णन, काव्यशास्त्रीय मूल्यों की अभिनव अवतारणा के साथ प्राचीन मान्यताओं का समर्थन, व्यापक लोक-स्वभावाभिव्यंजन प्रभृति विशेषताओं से अभिमण्डित इन महाकाव्यों में आशा की आलोकमयी किरणें बिखर रही हैं। इनके प्रखर आलोक में संस्कृत साहित्य की महनीय विधा महाकाव्य के लेखन का मार्ग आलोकित हो उठा है। अन्य भाषाओं में उपलब्ध संस्कृत की आधुनिक

विविध विधाओं के साथ महाकाव्य संरचना में कथमपि शैथिल्य नहीं है । संस्कृत-महाकाव्य लेखन आज अपने स्वर्ण-युग में प्रविष्ट है ।

इन महाकाव्यों का अध्ययन संस्कृत साहित्य को जीवित रखने के लिए नहीं, अपने को जीवित रखने के लिए, अपने राष्ट्र के दिगन्त शाश्वत आदर्शों को जीवित रखने के लिए आवश्यक है । संस्कृत-साहित्य सर्जन अवरुद्ध हो जायेगा और संस्कृत भाषा लुप्त हो जायेगी, ऐसा मानकर, संस्कृत साहित्य सर्जकों को कृपापात्र मानने और उन पर उपकार करने की भी आवश्यकता नहीं है । जिन साहित्य साधकों ने सैकड़ों वर्षों के परतंत्रात्मक संघर्ष और अवमान की परवाह न करते हुए अपनी कठोर तपश्चर्या से संस्कृत साहित्य के प्रवाह को आज तक अविच्छिन्न रखा है, वे स्वतंत्र राष्ट्र के सुखद वातावरण में (केवल अपनी बात को कहने भर का उन्मुक्त अवसर पाकर) अपनी साधना से विरत होंगे या हैं, ऐसी कल्पना करना भयंकर भूल है । आज वे अपूर्व उत्साह से स्वागत अथवा प्रतिक्रिया की परवाह न करते हुए दिन दूनी रात चौगुनी गति से सुभग साहित्य सृष्टि में प्रवृत्त हैं । इनके प्रति औदासीन्य या नासिकासंकोच इनका नहीं, उदासीन और और असहिष्णु व्यक्ति का दुर्भाग्य है । परम साधना के चिर-संचित स्वादुफल की उपेक्षा से अधिक दुर्भाग्य और हो ही क्या सकता है ? अभिनव सृष्ट संस्कृत-साहित्य में भी वे शाश्वत तत्त्व और अनुकरणीय मानव मूल्य विद्यमान हैं जिनकी उपेक्षा राष्ट्र का घोर संकट है और जिनके अनुपालन में व्यक्ति, समाज, राष्ट्र और विश्व का कल्याण सुनिश्चित है । साम्प्रतिक उदात्त मानव-मूल्यों और राष्ट्र धर्म की उद्भावना में आधुनिक संस्कृत महाकाव्यों का महत्त्व प्राचीन दिगन्त विश्रुत कवियों की कृतियों से अधिक है ।

आज की संस्कृतसुरापगा में अनेक साहित्य-सरिताओं का संगम हुआ है । इसके प्रवाह में सम्मिलन्ती सरिताएँ इसकी ही उस लीक से प्रवाहित होती हैं जिसमें जीवन को कल्मषरहित कर देने की अद्भुत क्षमता अतीतकाल से विद्यमान है । इनके संगम में टकराव नहीं, आलिंगन की आकुलता है और यह स्थल तीर्थ नहीं तीर्थराज है, जहाँ आकर्षण भी है पवित्रता भी । गंगा का पूर्वसंचित जल जिस प्रकार शताब्दियों तक विकृत नहीं होता उसी प्रकार वाल्मीकि-कालिदासादि का पूर्वसंचित परम श्रद्धार्ह रससिक्त साहित्य आज भी अनाघ्रात पुष्प की ताजगी और पुण्यों के अखण्ड फल के समान स्वादु है । जिस प्रकार शताब्दियों बाद गंगा का प्रवाह आज भी अविच्छिन्न है उसी प्रकार संस्कृतसाहित्यधारा अद्यावधि अजस्र प्रवहमान है । गंगा का संचित जल भी यदि बासी और विकृत नहीं होता तब आज का प्रवाह अनवगाहनीय कैसे हो सकता है ? आज वैज्ञानिक युग का स्वतंत्र संस्कृत-काव्यकार जो कुछ लिख रहा है उसका विशद अध्ययन और अनुशीलन संस्कृतसाहित्य और राष्ट्र दोनों के लिए परम कल्याणकारी है । आज के संस्कृत-महाकाव्य सत्य (यथार्थ), शिव और सुन्दर होने के कारण अवश्य ही स्वागतार्ह हैं ।

सन् १९६१ से ७० के मध्य प्रणीत संस्कृत महाकाव्य

प्रणेता	काव्यनाम तथा प्रकाशन वर्ष	प्राप्ति संकेत
१–स्व० पं० प्रभुदत्त शास्त्री–	गणपतिसम्भवम् (१९६८)	२।७६८ स्टेटबैंक कालोनी, चाँदनी चौक, दिल्ली–६
२–स्व० पं० काशीनाथ द्विवेदी–	रुक्मिणीहरणम् (१९६६)	बी० १।२२, अस्सी, वाराणसी, उ०प्र०
३–डा० रेवा प्रसाद द्विवेदी–	सीताचरितम् (१९७५)	मनीषा प्रकाशन, डी० ३५।३१० जंगमबाड़ी वाराणसी, (उ०प्र०)
४–स्व० पं० विष्णुदत्त शुक्ल–	गंगासागरीयम् (१९६४)	अभिनव साहित्य प्रकाशन, सागर (म०प्र०)
५–डा० सत्यव्रत शास्त्री–	श्रीबोधिसत्वचरितम् (१९७३)	मेहरचन्द–लछमनदास, स्ट्रीट १, अंसारी रोड, दरियागंज, दिल्ली ११०००६
६–डा० श्रीधर भास्कर वर्णेकर–	श्रीशिवराज्योदयम् (१९७२)	शारदा, ४२५ सदाशिवपेठ, पूना (महाराष्ट्र)
७–डा० उमाशंकर शर्मा त्रिपाठी	क्षत्रपतिचरितम् (१९७५)	श्री मिहिरमणि त्रिपाठी, ६८ अध्यापक निवास, काशी विद्यापीठ, वाराणसी (उ०प्र०)
८–स्व० डा० माधवश्रीहरि अणे–	तिलकयशोर्णवः (१९६९–७१)	शि०ह० धुपकर कार्यवाह, तिलक-महाराष्ट्र विद्यापीठ, पूना (महा-राष्ट्र)
९–पं० श्री विश्वनाथ केशव छत्रे–	सुभाषचरितम् (१९६३)	जोगलेकरसदन, सिद्धेश्वरके समीप, कल्याण जि० ठाण्डे (महाराष्ट्र)
१०–पं० श्री साधुशरण मिश्र –	गान्धिचरितम् (१९६२)	श्री राधावल्लभ मिश्र, श्री जानकी संस्कृत विद्यालय, नरकटियागंज, चम्पारन (विहार)
११–स्व०पं० ब्रह्मानन्द शुक्ल –	नेहरूचरितम् (१९६९)	शारदासदन, ३८ राधाकृष्ण खुरजा (उ०प्र०)
१२–श्री पद्मशास्त्री–	लेनिनामृतम् (१९७३)	विश्वेश्वरानन्द वैदिक शोध-संस्थान, साधुआश्रम, होशियार-पुर (पंजाव)

१३– पं० श्री परमेश्वरदत्त त्रिपाठी–	रक्ताक्तहिमालय	पं० परमेश्वरदत्त त्रिपाठी, उजियार, कोरण्टाडीह, बलिया (उ०प्र०)
१४– श्री सुबोधचन्द्र पन्त –	झांसीश्वरीचरितम् उ० प्र० संस्कृत अकादमी १९८१ द्वारा ३०००) के पुरस्कार से सम्मानित	श्री सुबोधचन्द्र पन्त, गंगानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठ, इलाहाबाद (उ०प्र०)
१५– श्री विद्याधर शास्त्री –	विश्वमानवीयम् (अप्रकाशित)	श्री विद्याधर शास्त्री, हिन्दी विश्वभारती बीकानेर (राजस्थान)
१६– श्री हरिप्रसाद द्विवेदी–	श्रीगोस्वामीतुलसीदासचरितम् (१९६१)	आचार्य वेद व्रत शर्मा, भारतीय साहित्यसंघ, काशगंज, एटा (उ०प्र०)
१७– श्रीत्र्यम्बकशर्मा भण्डारकर–	श्रीस्वामिविवेकानन्दचरितम् (१९७३)	चौखम्बा-संस्कृतसीरीज आफिस, वाराणसी (उ०प्र०)
१८– प्र०के० बालराम पाणिक्कर	श्री नारायणविजयम् (१९७१)	प्राचार्य, संस्कृत कालेज, त्रिवेन्द्रम्
१९– स्व०पं० रामकुबेर मालवीय	श्रीमालवीयचरितम् (१९६५–६६ प्रज्ञा-पत्रिका)	डा० सुधाकर मालवीय, ५, लंका, वाराणसी (उ०प्र०)
२०– स्व०पं० द्विजेन्द्रनाथशास्त्री–	स्वराज्यविजयम् (१९७१)	भारती प्रतिष्ठान २४, आनन्दपुरी, मेरठ (उ० प्र०)
२१– श्री रामसेवक मालवीय–	भूभामिनीविभ्रमम् (१९७०)	श्री रामसेवक मालवीय, ग्राम–मउयदुवंशपुर, गोपालपुर, फैजाबाद, (उ०प्र०)
२२– श्री दुर्गादत्त शास्त्री –	तर्जनी (१९६९)	शशी तथा शेषभूषण ग्रा० पो० नटेली, त० देहरा गोपीपुर, जि० काँगड़ा (हिमांचल प्रदेश)
२३– श्री सुधाकर शुक्ल–	गान्धिसौगन्धिकम् (अप्रकाशित)	रिटायर्ड प्रिंसिपल, शास०उ०मा० वि०, दतिया (म०प्र०)
२४– वही	भारतीस्वयंवरम् (अप्रकाशित)	वही
२५– स्व०प० लोकनाथ शास्त्री	गान्धिविजयम् (१९६४)	डा० कृष्णाकान्त चतुर्वेदी, सम्पा० ऋतम्भरा, जबलपुर विश्वविद्यालय, जबलपुर (म०प्र०)

२६– जैनमुनि श्री ज्ञानसागरजी	सुदर्शनोदयम् – (१९६६)	गनेशीलाल रतनलाल, कटारिया कपड़ा बाजार, ब्यावर (राजस्थान)
२७– वही	वीरोदयम् १९६८	वही
२८– पं० ओगेटि परीक्षित शर्मा	यशोधरा – (१९७६)	शारदा, ४२५ सदाशिव पेठ, पूना–३० (महाराष्ट्र)
२९– वही –	प्रतापराणायम् (अप्रकाशित)	पं० ओगेटिपरीक्षित शर्मा, भाषाधिकारी, भाषा संचालनालय, न्यू सेन्ट्रल बिल्डिंग, पूना–४११००१ (महाराष्ट्र)
३०– श्री जग्गूवकुलभूषण –	अद्भुतदूतम् (१९६८)	श्री जग्गूवकुलभूषण २७२१ इवक्रासरोड, मल्लेश्वरम् बंगलौर–३
३१– स्व०प० विन्ध्येश्वरीप्रसाद– शास्त्री –	कर्णार्जुनीयम् १९६८	स्वयंभाति पुस्तकालय, ४३।१७ सदानन्द बाजार, वाराणसी (उ० प्र०)
३२– वही	महर्षिज्ञानानन्द विरचितम् (१९६८–७१)	सूर्योदयः, जगतगंज, वाराणसी (उ०प्र०)
३३– श्रीकृष्णप्रसाद शर्मा धिमिरे	श्रीकृष्णचरितामृतम् १९७१, भाग–१	श्रीकृष्णाप्रसाद शर्मा धिमिरे, १७।३५६, टंगालगहिरी धारा, काठमाँडू (नेपाल)
३४– वही–	नाचिकेतसम्	वही
३५– वही–	वृत्रवधम्	वही
३६– वही–	ययातिचरितम् (अप्रकाशित)–	वही
३७– डा० राजेन्द्रमिश्र–	वामनावतरणम् (अप्रकाशित)	डा० राजेन्द्र मिश्र, प्रवक्ता–संस्कृत विभाग, इलाहाबाद (उ०प्र०)
३८– पं० श्रीनारायण शुक्ल–	उर्मिलीयम् १९७३	पं० श्री नारायण शुक्ल, प्रधानाचार्य,–श्रीनाथ संस्कृत विद्यालय, हाटा, देवरिया (उ०प्र०)
३९– डा० जगन्नाथ पाठक–	किरातार्जुनीयम् (अप्रकाशित)	–डा० जगन्नाथ पाठक, प्रवाचक गंगानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठ, इलाहाबाद (उ०प्र०)
४०– म०प० स्व० कालीपदतर्काचार्य	योगिभक्तचरितम्	–श्री नरेन्द्रमठ, २ वि० राममोहन राय रोड, गढ़ापार, कलकत्ता–६

४१– श्री बलभद्र प्रसाद शास्त्री–	नेहरूयशः सौरभम् १९७३	–गोस्वामी-प्रकाशन, सकाहा हरदोई (उ०प्र०)
४२– श्री विश्वनाथ केशव छत्रे–	एकनाथचरितम् (दो भागों में) (अप्रकाशित)	–श्री वि०के० छत्रे, जोगलेकर बाड़ा, सिद्धेश्वर आली, कल्याण, जि० ठाणे, महाराष्ट्र
४३. वही	भारतीयस्वातंत्र्ययोदय्यः (१९६५–६६)	भारती जयपुर (राजस्थान)
४४– वही	सातवलेकरचरितम् (अपूर्ण-अप्रकाशित)	श्री वि० के० छत्रे, जोगलेकर सदन, कल्याण, ठाणे (महाराष्ट्र)
४५– स्व० पं० शिवगोविन्द त्रिपाठी	गान्धिगौरवम् (१९७३)	श्री शिवसागर त्रिपाठी, ए ६५ जनता कालोनी, जयपुर (राजस्थान)
४६– म०म०पं० छज्जूरामशास्त्री	परशुरामदिग्विजयम् १९६८	श्रीरतिराम शास्त्री, साहित्य भण्डार, मेरठ, (उ०प्र०)
४७– श्री आत्मानन्द शास्त्री–	सावित्रीचरितम् (१९६१)	बम्बई–७
४८– स्व०पं० बद्रीनाथ झा–	राधापरिणयम्	भू०पू० प्राचार्य, संस्कृत कालेज मुजफ्फरपुर (बिहार)
४९– स्वामी अनन्तानन्द–	उषोहरणम्	वाराणसी, उत्तर प्रदेश
५०– —	नानककाव्यम्	भारती, जयपुर (राजस्थान)
५१– —	पद्मिनीपरिणयम् (१९६४–६५)	संविद भारतीय विद्या भवन, बम्बई
५२– स्व०पं० प्रभुदत्त शास्त्री–	भारतविजयम् (अप्रकाशित)	दिल्ली (द्र० काव्य क०१)

संस्कृतपद्यानुवाद द्वारा प्रस्तुत अन्य भाषाओं के महाकाव्य

१– कामायनी–	मू०ले० जयशंकर प्रसाद अनुवादक–श्री भगवानदत्त शास्त्री	जनवाणी मुद्रक एवं प्रकाशक, ३६, वाराणसी, घोष स्ट्रीट कलकत्ता–७
२– कामायनी (अप्रकाशित)	मू०ले० जयशंकरप्रसाद अनुवादक–डा० जगन्नाथ पाठक	डा० जगन्नाथ पाठक, गंगानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठ, इलाहाबाद

३– केशवीयम् १९७२	मू० ले० के०सी० केशवपिल्ल–के०पी० नारायण (मलयालम) अनुवादक–के०पी० नारायण प्पिषारोटी	प्पिषारोटी नारायणीयम् त्रिचुर–४ (केरल)
४– रामचरितमानसम्	मू० ले० गो० तुलसीदास अनुवादक– श्री जनार्दन गंगाधर शास्त्री रराटे	सूर्योदयः, जगतगंज, वाराणसी उ० प्र०
५– प्रियप्रवास	मू०ले० अयोध्यासिंह उपाध्याय 'हरिऔध' अनुवादक– श्री सुबोधचन्द्र पन्त	श्री सुबोधचन्द्र पन्त, गंगानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठ, इलाहाबाद (उ०प्र०)

लोचनकार द्वारा अपने मत का ध्वन्यालोक पर बलात् आरोप*

डा० (कु०) अञ्जलि

इलाहाबाद

Abhinavagupta has failed in understanding certain vital points in the ध्वन्यालोक of Ānandavardhana and in the garb of a commentator, has established his own independent views in his लोचन while elaborating upon the theory of *Dhvani*. His mistake begins from the very start. According to Ānandavardhana, *Dhvani* or *Kāvya-Viśeṣa* is the साररूप of the काव्यसामान्य (1.1.) and प्रतीयमान is the essence or साररूप of the ध्वनि काव्य(1.2). Abhinavagupta takes the word ध्वनि here mainly in the sense of व्यङ्ग्यार्थ or प्रतीयमान and not in the sense of a kind of Kāvya (*Kāvyaviśeṣa*)काव्यविशेष: स ध्वनिरिति सूरिभि: कथित: (1.13). In fact, later, by ध्वनि Abhinavagupta comprehends five meanings, viz., काव्य, व्यङ्ग्यार्थ, वाचक शब्द,वाचक अर्थ and व्यञ्जना व्यापार; whereas Ānandavardhana has used this word ध्वनि strictly and solely in the sense of "*Poetry*(काव्य) containing suggestive meaning" (or व्यङ्ग्यार्थ) and in no other sense.

आनन्दवर्धन के ध्वन्यालोक की रचना के साथ ही साथ उसकी टीका-टिप्पणी प्रारम्भ हुई। कुछ टीकाकार गुप्त शत्रु के रूप में उसके विरोध के लिए प्रवृत्त हुए तो कुछ ने अपनी अपरिपक्व अथवा अप्रौढ़ बुद्धि के नाते उसके सिद्धान्तों का भ्रान्त परिचय

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*The author of this article is a student of Prof. Chandika Prasad Shukla, the former Professor and Head of the Sanskrit Department, Allahabad University, who categorically holds the view that the word *dhvani* should not be misunderstood, in the sense of व्यङ्ग्यार्थ or व्यञ्जना व्यापार etc. as often interpreted by Abhinava in his *Locana*. Prof. Shukla had propounded this view first of all in his article "*What Ānandavardhana meant by Dhvani*" published in this very *Journal* in Vol. XXII, 1-2 (Nov. 1965-Feb. 1966), pp. 13-22. (*Editors*)

दिया। आनन्दवर्धन के लगभग १५० वर्ष पश्चात् अभिनवगुप्त ने ध्वन्यालोक पर लोचन टीका की रचना की जिससे ध्वनि के अनेक सूक्ष्म तत्त्व स्पष्ट हुये। किन्तु, आनन्दवर्धन का चिन्तन सूक्ष्म होते हुए भी ऋजु शब्दों में था, जबकि अभिनवगुप्त की प्रखर प्रतिभा ने अपने लोचन को इतना सम्पन्न बनाया कि वह तरह-तरह से बोझिल हो गया, और साधारण वैदुष्य के सहृदयों के लिए दुर्ग्राह्य बन गया। लोचन में जब वे अपना मतभेद देते हैं, तब वह सामान्यतः पकड़ में नहीं आता और ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि यही सूत्रानुसारी व्याख्यान है, कुछ भी उत्सूत्र नहीं। ऐसे अनेक स्थल हैं, और वे स्थल इतने मार्मिक एवं महत्त्व के हैं कि वहाँ अपना मत रखकर अभिनवगुप्त ने पूरे सिद्धान्त का स्वरूप ही बदल दिया और वह ध्वनि-सिद्धान्त आनन्दवर्धन का नहीं, अभिनवगुप्त का सा हो गया। सचिव ही राजा बन गया। उन्होंने ध्वन्यालोक का अतिरिक्त व्याख्यान करते हुए आनन्दवर्धन के विचारों को नया परिधान दिया जिसका प्रभाव परवर्ती आचार्यों पर मूल ग्रन्थकार से भी अधिक पड़ा और यह निस्संकोच कहा जा सकता है कि परवर्ती ध्वनि-सम्प्रदाय अभिनवगुप्त के प्रति अधिक निष्ठावान् रहा, आनन्दवर्धन के प्रति कम। आनन्दवर्धन की अपेक्षा अभिनवगुप्त को अधिक प्रतिष्ठा मिलने का मूल कारण उनकी लोचन टीका ही है। वस्तुतः यह टीका इतनी प्रौढ़ एवं वैदुष्य-पूर्ण है कि अध्येता को ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि सम्पूर्ण ध्वनि-सिद्धान्त ही जटिल है। जिसके कारण उनमें ऐसी धारणा ही बन गई कि बिना लोचन टीका को देखे ध्वन्यालोक के ठीक अर्थ को नहीं समझा जा सकता। किन्तु यदि धैर्यपूर्वक ध्वन्यालोक का अध्ययन किया जाय तो स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि ध्वनि-सिद्धान्त में कोई जटिलता नहीं है। आनन्द-वर्धन का सिद्धान्त सर्वथा सरल एवं ऋजु है, जटिल स्वयं लोचन टीका है।

तथापि अभिनवगुप्त अपनी लोचन टीका की सार्थकता प्रतिपादित करते हैं—

किं लोचनं विनालोको भाति चन्द्रिकयापि हि।
तेनाभिनवगुप्तोऽत्र लोचनोन्मीलनं व्यधात्॥ (प्रथम उद्योत)

यद्यपि यह सत्य है कि लोचन "आलोक" को ग्राह्य बनाता है, तथापि अपने शुद्ध रूप में नहीं। क्योंकि उन्होंने अपनी अभिनव बात गुप्त ढङ्ग से रखी है। ध्वन्यालोक को आधार बना कर उस पर जो चित्र अंकित किए गए वह बहुत कुछ उनके अपने हैं। अतः प्रस्तुत निबन्ध में, लोचन में स्थान-स्थान पर अंकित अभिनवगुप्त के स्वतन्त्र मतों का विवेचन अभीष्ट है।

आनन्दवर्धन ने प्रथम कारिका में बुधों द्वारा समाम्नात **काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिः** इस मत का उल्लेख किया है और विवादग्रस्त होने के कारण उस ध्वनि के स्वरूप को निःसन्दिग्ध एवं प्रमाणित रूप से विवेचित करने का संकल्प किया है। किन्तु इस मुख्य विषय – 'ध्वनि-स्वरूप-विवेचन' के पूर्व भूमिका रूप में ध्वनि के प्रधान तत्त्व 'प्रतीयमान-अर्थ' के स्वरूप एवं महत्त्व के विवेचन में (ध्व. १.२ से ध्व. १.१२

तक) पूर्ण संरम्भ के साथ प्रवृत्त होते हैं। संयोग से वे दूसरी ही कारिका से इस प्रकार का उपोद्घात करते हैं कि वह प्रायः टीकाकारों एवं सामान्य पाठकों के लिए भ्रामक हो ही जाता है। क्योंकि आचार्य आनन्दवर्धन ने ध्वन्यालोक में स्थल-स्थल पर विभिन्न अर्थों में 'आत्मा' पद का प्रयोग किया है। आचार्य अभिनवगुप्त ने भी 'आत्मा' पद के अनेक अर्थ किए हैं किन्तु आनन्दवर्धन ने जिस अर्थ में चाहा है, अभिनवगुप्त उस अर्थ में उसकी व्याख्या कभी-कभी नहीं करते। परिणामतः सिद्धान्त में मतभेद हो जाता है।

आत्मा पद के विभिन्न अर्थ

काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिः[1] में प्रयुक्त 'आत्मा'[2] पद का अर्थ सारभूत अंश के अतिरिक्त स्वभाव, स्वरूप, या प्रकार भी है।

(१) यदि 'आत्मा' पद का अर्थ सार-अंश माना जाए तो **काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिः** का अर्थ होगा —

ध्वनि अर्थात् काव्यविशेष, काव्य अर्थात् काव्य सामान्य में आत्मा अर्थात् साररूप होता है। इसका तात्पर्य यह है कि 'ध्वनि', जिसका आगे विवेचन किया जायेगा तथा जिसके बहुसंख्यक भेद बताए जायेंगे, उसकी सत्ता काव्य- सामान्य में रहने पर ही 'काव्य' प्राणवान् बनता है। जैसे प्रसिद्ध श्लोक– **निःशेषच्युतचन्दनस्तनतटं**[3] इत्यादि में 'अधम' पद में पदध्वनि-काव्य है, और उतने मात्र से सम्पूर्ण श्लोक देदीप्यमान होता हुआ, उच्च कोटि का काव्य बन जाता है। जैसे किसी एक अंग में स्थित आभूषण से ही ललना का लावण्य प्रदीप्त हो उठता है, इसी प्रकार ध्वनि के अन्य भेद जहाँ भी काव्य में रहते हैं, वह काव्य प्राणवान् हो जाता है। यही तात्पर्य था **काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिः** कहने का।

यहाँ प्रश्न उठता है कि 'ध्वनि-काव्य-विशेष' कैसे काव्य-सामान्य की आत्मा होगा?

इसका समाधान आनन्दवर्धन ने अपनी इस उक्ति द्वारा किया है कि ध्वनि-काव्य विबुधोद्यान में कल्पतरु के समान है[4] अर्थात् जैसे देवोद्यान में कल्पवृक्ष एक

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१. ध्व. १.१

२. अमरकोष में भी कहा गया है—
'आत्मा यत्नो धृतिर्बुद्धि : स्वभावो ब्रह्म वर्ष्म च'।

३. काव्यप्रकाश पृ० ३०

४. **काव्याख्येऽखिलसौख्यधाम्नि विबुधोद्याने ध्वनिर्दर्शितः।**
सोऽयं कल्पतरूपमानमहिमा भोग्योऽस्तु भव्यात्मनाम्।
ध्व., पृ० ५५२

वृक्ष विशेष है, उसी वृक्ष-विशेष के कारण उस उद्यान का महत्त्व है, वह विबुधोद्यान है। उस वृक्ष-विशेष के अभाव में वह उद्यान, देवोद्यान नहीं, केवल वृक्ष समूह मात्र रह जाएगा। अतः वह कल्पवृक्ष देवोद्यान का प्राणभूत है। उसी प्रकार 'काव्य-सामान्य' में 'ध्वनि काव्य विशेष' सारभूत अंश है। उस काव्य-विशेष के अभाव में 'काव्य' काव्य ही नहीं होगा वरन् काव्य का चित्र-मात्र रह जाएगा। इसीलिए आनन्दवर्धन ने इस प्रकार कहा है– **काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिः**।

(२) यहाँ 'आत्मा' शब्द का स्वभाव या स्वरूप अर्थ भी माना जा सकता है। अर्थात् '**काव्यात्मा ध्वनिः**' कहने का तात्पर्य होगा कि काव्य का स्वभाव या स्वरूप ध्वनि ही है। 'आत्मा' शब्द का स्वभाव अर्थ में आनन्दवर्धन ने ध्वन्यालोक में अन्य स्थल पर भी प्रयोग किया है। यथा–**वाच्यवाचकसम्मिश्रः शब्दात्मा (अर्थात् शब्द-स्वभावः) काव्यमिति व्यपदेशो व्यञ्जकत्वसाम्याद् ध्वनिरित्युक्तः**[५] इत्यादि।

इस प्रकार **काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिः** में प्रयुक्त 'आत्मा' पद के दो अर्थ हो सकते हैं–

(१) सारभूत-अंश

(२) स्वभाव, स्वरूप या प्रकार।

योऽर्थः सहृदयश्लाघ्यः काव्यात्मेति व्यवस्थितः[६] में प्रयुक्त आत्मा पद का अर्थ–प्राणभूत या रहस्यभूत तत्त्व है। अर्थात् ध्वनि काव्य का प्राणभूत तत्त्व–सहृदयश्लाघ्य, व्यङ्ग्यार्थ है।

इस प्रकार **काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिः** और **योऽर्थः सहृदयश्लाघ्यः काव्यात्मेति व्यवस्थितः** इन दोनों कारिकाओं में प्रयुक्त 'आत्मा' पद के भिन्न-भिन्न अर्थ हैं। इनकी संगति इस प्रकार दीखती है–

काव्य-सामान्य का सारभूत-अंश ध्वनि काव्यविशेष[७] है अथवा ध्वनि ही काव्य का एक प्रकार है[८] और उस ध्वनि-काव्य का प्राणभूत-तत्त्व व्यङ्ग्यार्थ है[९]। यह आनन्दवर्धन का सिद्धान्त है।

किन्तु अभिनवगुप्त की 'लोचन' टीका आनन्दवर्धन के मन्तव्य को स्पष्ट नहीं करती[१०]

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५. ध्व०, पृ० १३५

६. ध्व.० १.२

७. **ध्वनिः काव्यविशेष इत्युक्तम्**। ध्व., पृ० ३०० ।

८. **ध्वनिसंज्ञितः प्रकारः काव्यस्य**। ध्व., पृ० ४५८।

९. **मुख्यतया प्रकाशमानो व्यङ्ग्योऽर्थो ध्वनेरात्मा**। ध्व., पृ० १७४ ।

१०. (१) द्र. लो. पृ. ९–११
(२) द्र. लो., पृ. ४२–४६

अभिनवगुप्त काव्यात्मा ध्वनिः का अर्थ करते हैं– काव्य की आत्मा[११] ध्वनि है। पुनः **योऽर्थः सहृदयश्लाघ्यःकाव्यात्मेति व्यवस्थितः** में 'व्यङ्ग्य-अर्थ' को काव्य की आत्मा कहा जा रहा है। यहाँ आनन्दवर्धन के चिन्तन में विरोधाभास प्रतीत होता है। क्योंकि आत्मा तो एक ही हो सकती है, दो नहीं। अभिनवगुप्त यह निर्णय नहीं कर पाते कि काव्य की आत्मा ध्वनि है या व्यङ्ग्यार्थ? अन्ततः दोनों को पर्याय रूप मान लेते हैं[१२] और इसी रूप में उन दोनों को **लोचन** में रखते हैं। वस्तुतः अभिनवगुप्त की **लोचन** टीका की दुरूहता का मूल कारण ध्वनि और प्रतीयमान-अर्थ में ऐक्य की भ्रान्ति ही है।

ध्वनि और प्रतीयमानार्थ का पार्थक्य

जैसा कि ऊपर कहा गया है, काव्य-सामान्य में ध्वनि काव्य-विशेष सार-अंशरूप है और प्रतीयमानार्थ या व्यङ्ग्यार्थ उस ध्वनि-काव्य का प्राणभूत तत्त्व है। यह आनन्दवर्धन का सीधा सा सिद्धान्त है।

परन्तु आचार्य अभिनवगुप्त द्वितीय कारिका के पूर्व कही गई पंक्ति–**तत्र ध्वनेरेव लक्षयितुमारब्धस्य भूमिकां रचयितुमिदमुच्यते**[१३] की व्याख्या इस प्रकार करते हैं–

'.....**तथा ध्वनिस्वरूपे प्रतीयमानाख्ये निरूपयितव्ये**........'[१४] इत्यादि। यहाँ अभिनवगुप्त कह रहे हैं कि 'प्रतीयमान नामक ध्वनि स्वरूप का निरूपण होने पर इत्यादि'। यदि ध्वनि-स्वरूप प्रतीयमान नामक है तो **प्रतीयमानं पुनरन्यदेव**[१५] इत्यादि ही ध्वनि की परिभाषा हो जाएगी। फिर १३ वीं कारिका में '**यत्रार्थः शब्दो वा तमर्थं** इत्यादि जो ध्वनि की परिभाषा प्रतिपादित की गई है, वह पुनरुक्त हो जाएगी, पुनरुक्त हो जाने पर भी यदि दोनों कारिकाओं में प्रयुक्त तथ्य

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११. अभिनवगुप्त को भलीभाँति ज्ञात है कि 'आत्मा' पद का अर्थप्राणभूत या सारभूत तत्त्व के अतिरिक्त स्वभाव, स्वरूप या प्रकार भी होता है। तभी तो वे **ध्वन्यालोक** २.३ में प्रयुक्त 'आत्मा' पदका अर्थ करते हैं—आत्मशब्दः स्वभाववचनः प्रकारमाह **लो.**, पृ. १७४. और ध्व. ३.६ की वृत्ति में भी ध्वन्यात्मरसाङ्ग की व्याख्या करते हुए कहते हैं–**ध्वन्यात्मा ध्वनिस्वभावो, लो. पृ. ३१९** किन्तु काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिः में प्रयुक्त 'आत्मा' पद का अर्थ–सारभूत के अतिरिक्त स्वभाव, स्वरूप या प्रकार भी हो सकता है–इस तथ्य की ओर उनका ध्यान नहीं है।

१२. लो., पृ. ४२.

१३. ध्व., पृ. ४२.

१४. लो., पृ. ४२.

१५. ध्व. १.३

समान हों तब कोई आपत्ति नहीं। किन्तु दोनों कारिकाओं में प्रयुक्त तथ्य भिन्न हैं। अतः दोनों को ध्वनि का स्वरूप मानना सर्वथा असंगत है क्योंकि एक वस्तु की परिभाषा का एक ही स्वरूप होता है, भिन्न-भिन्न नहीं।

इस समस्या का समाधान अत्यन्त सरल है। यदि आनन्दवर्धन के उपर्युक्त सिद्धान्त को अवधानपूर्वक समझ लिया जाए कि –ध्वनि कल्पवृक्ष सदृश काव्य-सामान्य रूपी उद्यान का सार अंश है और प्रतीयमानार्थ ध्वनिकाव्य का आत्मतत्त्व (रहस्यभूत तत्त्व) है, तब इस प्रकार की शंका का कोई अवसर ही नहीं उठता। अभिनवगुप्त का यह कथन–**प्रतीयमान नामक ध्वनि स्वरूप का निरूपण होने पर** इत्यादि सर्वथा भ्रान्तिजनक है। वस्तुतः ध्व. १.२ से ध्व. १.१२ तक का भाग ध्वनि की परिभाषा के पूर्व भूमिका मात्र है जो ध्वनि के प्राणभूत व्यङ्ग्यार्थ का परिचय करा रहा है। अतः ध्व. १.२ से ध्व. १.१२ तक व्यङ्ग्यार्थ का विवेचन ध्वनि - स्वरूप को सुप्रतिष्ठित करने के लिए ही किया गया है। आनन्दवर्धन ने स्वयं ध्व., १.१२ के अन्त में वृत्तिभाग में कहा है –

एवं वाच्यव्यतिरेकिणो व्यङ्ग्यस्यार्थस्य सद्भावं प्रतिपाद्य प्रकृत उपयोजयन्नाह[१६]

अतः यह निश्चित है कि ध्वनि और प्रतीयमान भिन्न हैं। इनके स्वरूप को परस्पर मिलाना नहीं चाहिए।

ध्वनि का लक्षण

ध्वनि का लक्षण आनन्दवर्धन इस प्रकार प्रतिपादित करते हैं[१७]

जहाँ वाच्य अर्थ अपने (स्वरूप) को तथा वाचक शब्द अपने वाच्य अर्थ को गौण (अप्रधान) बनाकर, उस प्रतीयमान अथवा व्यङ्ग्य–अर्थ को प्रधान रूप से व्यक्त करते हैं, विद्वद्जन उस काव्य-विशेष को ध्वनि कहते हैं। काव्यविशेष की व्याख्या करते हुए अभिनवगुप्त कहते हैं–**काव्यं च तद्विशेषश्चासौ। काव्यस्य वा विशेषः**[१८] अर्थात् काव्य और उसका विशेष इस प्रकार (कर्मधारय समास) या काव्य का विशेष इस प्रकार षष्ठी तत्पुरुष समास द्वारा 'काव्यविशेष' को स्पष्ट करने का प्रयत्न किया है। किन्तु इस व्याख्या में **यत्र** और **तमर्थ** की संगति कैसे बैठ पाएगी, अभिनवगुप्त को इसकी चिन्ता नहीं है।

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१६. ध्व., पृ. १०३

१७. **यत्रार्थः शब्दो वा तमर्थमुपसर्जनीकृतस्वार्थौ।**
व्यङ्क्तः काव्यविशेषः स ध्वनिरिति सूरिभिः कथितः। ध्व. १.१३

१८. किन्तु 'विशेष' शब्द का समास आने पर इस प्रकार का विग्रह प्रायः नहीं किया जाता। अभिनवगुप्त ने केवल अपनी व्याख्या की संगति बैठाने के लिए यह विग्रह किया है।

ध्वनि के पाँच अर्थ

अभिनवगुप्त इतना जानते हुए भी कि ध्व. १.१३ वीं कारिका में आनन्दवर्धन को केवल **'काव्यविशेष'** को ही ध्वनि कहना अभीष्ट है, फिर भी उससे बलात् ध्वनि के पाँच अर्थ निकालते हैं [१९] ।

१– व्यङ्ग्य अर्थ
२– वाचक शब्द
३– वाच्य अर्थ
४– व्यञ्जना व्यापार
५– समुदाय रूप काव्य

अभिनवगुप्त ध्वनि के ये पाँच अर्थ वृत्ति के निम्नलिखित अंश से निकालने का प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं–

तथैवान्यैस्तन्मतानुसारिभिः सूरिभिः काव्यतत्त्वार्थदर्शिभिर्वाच्यवाचकसम्मिश्रः शब्दात्मा काव्यमिति व्यपदेश्यो व्यञ्जकत्वसाम्याद् ध्वनिरित्युक्तः[२०] ।

वस्तुतः वृत्ति के इस अंश से ध्वनि के पाँच अर्थ निकालना दुष्कर है तथापि अभिनवगुप्त पाँच अर्थ निम्न प्रकार से निकालते हैं–

अभिनवगुप्त **वाच्यवाचकसम्मिश्रः शब्दात्मा** और **काव्यमिति व्यपदेशो** में प्रत्येक पद को पृथक् पृथक् **ध्वनिरित्युक्तः** से सम्बद्ध करना चाहते हैं। अभिनवगुप्त के अनुसार **वाच्यवाचकसम्मिश्रः** में तीन तत्त्व हैं –

१– वाच्यार्थ
२– वाचक शब्द
३– सम्मिश्र=व्यङ्ग्यार्थ

सम्मिश्रः पद की व्याख्या करते हुए अभिनवगुप्त कहते हैं–**सम्मिश्रयते विभावानुभावसंवलनयेति व्यङ्ग्योऽपि ध्वनिः** अतः अभिनव के अनुसार व्यङ्ग्यार्थ भी ध्वनि है ।

शब्दात्मा की व्याख्या करते हुए कहते हैं–**शब्दनं शब्दः शब्दव्यापारः**···· ......**अपि त्वात्मभूतः सोऽपि ध्वननं ध्वनिः** इस प्रकार व्यञ्जना व्यापार भी ध्वनि है ।

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१९. **अर्थो वा शब्दो वा व्यापारो वा। अर्थोऽपि वाच्यो वा ध्वनतीति, शब्दोऽप्येवम्। व्यङ्ग्यो वा ध्वन्यत इति व्यापारो वा शब्दार्थयोर्ध्वननमिति। कारिकया तु प्राधान्येन समुदाय एव काव्यरूपो मुख्यतया ध्वनिरिति प्रतिपादितम्। लो., पृ०** १०५–१०६ ।

२०. ध्व. पृ. १३३– १३५.

४– शब्दात्मा—व्यञ्जना-व्यापार

५– काव्यमिति—ध्वनि काव्य

अभिनवगुप्त का यह सारा वाद विवाद स्वैरितापूर्ण, अप्रामाणिक, परम्परा-विरुद्ध एवं अनावश्यक प्रतीत होता है । उनकी इस खींचातानी से सहृदयों को केवल उद्वेग होता है ।

उपर्युक्त वृत्त्यंश में कुछ विशेष तथ्य अवधेय हैं–

काव्य में शब्दों के साथ अर्थ भी होते हैं । इसीलिए आनन्दवर्धन स्पष्ट रूप से कहते हैं–**वाच्यवाचकसम्मिश्रः शब्दात्मा काव्यमिति व्यपदेश्यः** इत्यादि । अर्थात् शब्दात्म स्वरूप काव्य में वाच्य-वाचक का साहित्य होता है । अतः इस वाक्य को खण्डित करके इसका अर्थ नहीं निकालना चाहिए । बल्कि यह पूरा वाक्य साभिप्राय है ।

किन्तु अभिनवगुप्त ने इसका खण्ड करके, प्रत्येक पद का विश्लेषण करके अपने पाँच अर्थ निकालने का प्रयत्न किया है । उसमें उनके अनुसार शब्द, अर्थ और समुदाय को काव्य कह भी दिया जाय, फिर भी प्रश्न उठता है कि कैसे अभिनवगुप्त व्यङ्ग्य-अर्थ और व्यञ्जना-व्यापार को ध्वनि कहने में समर्थ हो सकते हैं ? सम्भवतः अभिनवगुप्त के अनुसार इसका अर्थ यह हो सकता है कि ध्व., १.२ में सहृदयों द्वारा प्रशंसनीय अर्थ को काव्य की आत्मा कहा गया है तथा ध्व. १.५ में रस व्यङ्ग्य को विशेष रूप से काव्य का प्राणभूत कहा गया है । प्रथम कारिका में ध्वनि को काव्य की आत्मा कहा ही गया था। अतः अभिनवगुप्त ने समीकरण बनाया ––

ध्वनि = काव्यात्मा

प्रतीयमान अर्थ = काव्यात्मा

प्रतीयमान अर्थ = ध्वनि

अभिनवगुप्त व्यञ्जना-व्यापार को ध्वनि किस युक्ति से कह रहे हैं ? यह एक और समस्या है। आनन्दवर्धन अपने ध्वनि-सिद्धान्त विरोधी गुणवृत्ति की चर्चा करते हैं—

(१) अन्ये तं ध्वनिसंज्ञितं काव्यात्मानं गुणवृत्तिरित्याहुः[२१]

(२) यदप्युक्तं भक्तिर्ध्वनिरिति[२२] इत्यादि

ऐसे कथनों से सम्भवतः अभिनवगुप्त यह समझ रहे हैं कि आनन्दवर्धन गुण-वृत्ति का विरोध करके व्यञ्जनावृत्ति कहना चाह रहे हैं । अतः व्यञ्जना-व्यापार को भी ध्वनि कह दिया जाय । यही सोचकर सम्भवतः अभिनवगुप्त ने व्यञ्जना-व्यापार को भी ध्वनि कहा है ।

२१, ध्व., पृ. २८

२२. ध्व., पृ. १४.

अभिनवगुप्त ने तो ध्वनि के इन पाँचों अर्थों की पुष्टि हेतु **वाक्यपदीय** से प्रमाण भी उपस्थित किए हैं। कुछ भी हो, ध्वनि के इन पाँचों अर्थों के विषय में जितना भी विवेचन है वह सर्वथा निर्मूल एवं व्यर्थ का प्रपञ्च मात्र है। क्योंकि आनन्दवर्धन ने **ध्वनि** को काव्य मानने का केवल एक कारण दिया है—**व्यञ्जकत्व-साम्यगत्**— जो न व्यङ्ग्य-अर्थ में है और न व्यञ्जना-व्यापार में। व्यञ्जक शब्द-अर्थ इत्यादि को आनन्दवर्धन ने कहीं भी ध्वनि नहीं कहा है। वरन् यह सब तो ध्वनि-काव्य के अंग मात्र हैं। जैसे मनुष्य का एक पूरा शरीर होता है और उसमें हाथ, पैर आँख, कान, नाक इत्यादि विभिन्न-अंग होते हैं उन विभिन्न अंगों से युक्त सम्पूर्ण पिण्ड को शरीर संज्ञा से अभिहित किया जाता है उसी प्रकार ध्वनि काव्य रूप शरीर के व्यञ्जक शब्द, व्यञ्जक-अर्थ, व्यञ्जना-व्यापार आदि विभिन्न अंग हैं। उन विभिन्न अंगों से युक्त काव्य को ध्वनि कहा जाता है। उसमें आत्मा रूप से व्यङ्ग्य-अर्थ वैसे ही प्रतिष्ठित होता है जैसे मनुष्य शरीर में आत्मा प्रतिष्ठित होता है।

अभिनवगुप्त के परवर्ती आचार्यों ने उनके द्वारा ही प्रतिपादित ध्वनि के पाँच अर्थों को स्वीकार भी कर लिया। उन लोगों ने आनन्दवर्धन से अधिक अभिनवगुप्त को प्रमाण माना और इस प्रकार आनन्दवर्धन के **आलोक** को अभिनवगुप्त के **लोचन** से देखा अपने बुद्धि-लोचन से नहीं देखा।

[illegible]

[illegible]

प्राचीन एवं पूर्व मध्यकालीन भारत में सुवर्णकारों की सामाजिक स्थिति---एक ऐतिहासिक विश्लेषण

कु० उमा जायसवाल

इलाहाबाद

The later Vedic, Bauddha and Jain literature, the smṛtis and Purāṇas throw much light on the social status and position of the different catagories of the Śilpakāras. The Suvarṇakāras, due to their profitable business and economic advancement enjoyed superior and respectable position in the society which gradually degenerated by the advent of the early medieval period. The *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Smṛtis* of Manu, Yājñavalkya etc. call them as Śūdras. They have to work one day for the king without any remmuneration. Later, Hemādri in *Caturvarga Cintāmaṇi* includes them in the list of *antyaja*.

शिल्पियों एवं कारीगरों के अन्तर्गत रथकारों, कुम्भकारों, तक्षकों, चर्मकारों, तन्तुवायों एवं लोहकारों के साथ ही साथ सुवर्णकारों का भी उल्लेख किया जा सकता है, जिन्होंने चिरकाल से सौन्दर्य विवर्धन में सक्रिय मानव जाति के लिए नित नवीन आभूषणों का निर्माण कर स्व-शिल्प कुशलता का परिचय प्रस्तुत किया है। इनमें से रथकारों, चर्मकारों, वेणुकारों, तन्तुवायों, लोहकारों एवं कुम्भकारों की सामाजिक स्थिति के संदर्भ में विभिन्न विद्वानों द्वारा अध्ययन प्रस्तुत किया जा चुका है[1]

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१. विवेकानन्द झा, "स्टेटस् ऑफ रथकाराज़ इन अर्ली इण्डियन सोसाइटी" जर्नल ऑफ इण्डियन कल्चर, अप्रैल, १९७४; "लेदर वर्क्स इन एन्शिएण्ट एण्ड अर्ली मेडिवल इण्डिया" "प्रोसीडिंग्स ऑफ द इण्डियन हिस्ट्री कांग्रेस (पी. आई. एच. सी.) वाल्टेयर, १९७९; "पोजिशन एण्ड स्टेटस ऑफ बैम्बू-वर्क्स एण्ड बास्केट मेकर्स इन एन्शिएण्ट एण्ड अर्ली मेडिवल टाइम्स" पी. आई. एच. सी., हैदराबाद, १९७८; आदित्य प्रसाद ओझा, "प्राचीन एवं पूर्वमध्य कालीन भारत में तन्तुवायों की सामाजिक स्थिति–एक ऐतिहासिक विश्लेषण" जर्नल ऑफ दि जी. एन. झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठ, जिल्द XXXV खण्ड १–२; "ब्लैकस्मिथ्स इन एन्शिएण्ट एण्ड अर्ली मेडिवल इण्डिया" पी. आई. एच. सी. वाल्टेयर, १९७९; "पोजीशन ऑफ पॉटर्स इन द सोशियो रीजनल स्ट्रैटिफिकेशन ऑफ अर्ली मेडिवल इण्डिया" दिसम्बर १९८० में आयोजित XLI इण्डियन हिस्ट्री कांग्रेस सत्र में प्रस्तुत।

प्रस्तुत लेख में सुवर्णकारों की सामाजिक स्थिति के संदर्भ में कुछ लिखने का प्रयास किया जा रहा है।

शिल्पकारों के रूप में सुवर्णकारों[2] के शिल्प का प्राचीनतम प्रमाण सैन्धव सभ्यता में प्राप्त होता है, परन्तु साक्ष्यों की वर्तमान स्थिति में उनकी तत्कालीन सामाजिक स्थिति के विषय में कुछ कह सकना संभव नहीं है।[3] सुवर्णकारों के सन्दर्भ में वैदिक साहित्य से हमें अपेक्षाकृत अधिक सामग्री प्राप्त होती है। ऋग्वैदिक युग में पुरुषों और स्त्रियों दोनों के स्वर्णाभूषण धारण करने का उल्लेख प्राप्त है[4] और स्वर्ण के लिए 'हिरण्य' शब्द भी **ऋग्वेद**[5] (१५००– १००० ई०पू०) में प्रयुक्त हुआ है। इससे इतना तो प्रमाणित ही है कि इनके निर्माता सुवर्णकार भी तत्कालीन समाज में विद्यमान थे परन्तु इन सुवर्णकारों का द्योतक कोई भी शब्द **ऋग्वेद** में नहीं प्राप्त होता। 'हिरण्य' शब्द बहुवचन में स्वर्ण आभूषणों का भी द्योतक है।[6] रुक्म[7], निष्क[8] एवं कर्णशोभन[9] संज्ञक स्वर्णाभूषणों का उल्लेख भी **ऋग्वेद** करता है, जिन्हें क्रमशः वक्ष, कण्ठ एवं कान में धारण किया जाता था। यद्यपि ये तथ्य ऋग्वैदिक समाज में उनके वर्ण एवं सामाजिक अनुक्रम के संदर्भ में बिलकुल मौन हैं, परन्तु चूंकि तत्कालीन समाज ब्रह्म, क्षत्र एवं विशः केवल तीन ही वर्गों में विभाजित था और ब्रह्म एवं क्षत्र वर्ग से ये निश्चित रूप से संबंधित नहीं थे, अतएव विशः जो कि जन-सामान्य का वर्ग

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२. आर. सी. मजूमदार, **हिस्ट्री एण्ड कल्चर ऑव द इण्डियन पीपुल**, जिल्द–१, **द वैदिक एज**, बम्बई, १९७१, पृ० १७८ सैन्धव सभ्यता से प्राप्त सुवर्ण कर्णाभूषण, चूड़ियाँ एवं कंकण इस तथ्य का निरूपण करते हैं कि इनके निर्माता के रूप में सुवर्णकार विद्यमान रहे होंगे; एम. के. पाल **क्राफ्ट्स एण्ड क्राफ्ट्स मैन इन ट्रैडिशनल इण्डिया**, नई दिल्ली, १९७८, पृ० १०३।

३. तुलना कीजिए एम. के. पाल, **वही**।

४. ई० जे० रैप्सन द्वारा, सम्पादित **द कैंब्रिज हिस्ट्री ऑफ इण्डिया** (सी. एच. आई.) (तृतीय भारतीय संस्करण) जिल्द १, नई दिल्ली, १९६८, पृ० ९०; देखिये मजूमदार, पूर्वोद्धृत पृ० ३९७।

५. **ऋग्वेद** I. ४३.५; III. ३४.९; IV. १०.६; XVII. ११।

६. **ऋग्वेद** I. १८.१२२.२ ; १६२.१६ ; II. ३३.९ ; V. ६०.४। हिरण्य शब्द के परवर्ती वैदिक साहित्य के संदर्भों के लिए देखिए ए. ए. मैक्डॉनल एवं वी. कीथ, **वैदिक इण्डेक्स ऑफ नेम्स एण्ड सब्जेक्ट्स**, जिल्द २, हिन्दी अनुवाद रामकुमार राय, वाराणसी, १९६२, पृ० ५५८।

७. मैक्डॉनल एवं कीथ, वही पृ० २५०, 'रुक्म वक्षस्', II. ३४.२. ८; V. ५५.१, और देखिये मजूमदार **पूर्वो०** ९पृ० ३.७।

८. मैक्डॉनल एवं कीथ, **वही**, प्रथम भाग, पृ. ५१३; मजूमदार वही।

९. **मैक्डॉनल एवं कीथ वही पृ० १५६; मजूमदार वही।**

था, से अवश्य सम्बद्ध रहे होंगे।[१०] वैश्य वर्ग (विशः) से सम्बन्धित होने के कारण एक शिल्पकार के रूप में सुवर्णकारों ने निश्चय ही सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त की होगी।

परवर्ती वैदिक साहित्य[११] के **वाजसनेयि संहिता**[१२] एवं **तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मण**[१३] में प्रयुक्त 'हिरण्यकार' शब्द सुवर्णकार का ही द्योतक है।[१४] **तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मण**[१५] के 'पेशस्कारी' शब्द को सायण (१४ वीं शता० ई०) ने सुवर्णकार की स्त्री का द्योतक माना है, परन्तु इस शब्द का यह अर्थ विवादास्पद है।[१६] यजुर्वेदीय **वाजनेसयि संहिता** एवं **तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मण** में प्राप्त पुरुषमेध यज्ञ में दी जाने वाली बलि-प्राणियों की तालिका में सुवर्णकारों (हिरण्यकार) का उल्लेख[१७] इस बात का संकेत करता है कि उन्हें तत्कालीन समाज में धार्मिक मान्यता प्राप्त थी। धार्मिक मान्यता का प्राप्त होना उनकी सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठा का परिचायक है। इस काल में आर्थिक विकास और श्रम-विभाजन की प्रक्रिया के भी दृढ़तर होने के कारण विभिन्न उद्योग धन्धे अस्तित्व में आये। आर्थिक विकास के आधार पर समाज में स्तरीकरण की प्रक्रिया प्रारम्भ हो गई थी।[१८] आर्थिक आधार पर शिल्पकारों के संदर्भ में जिन चार स्तरों की कल्पना

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१०. तुलना कीजिए एन. के. दत्ता, **ऑरिजिन एण्ड ग्रोथ ऑफ कास्ट इन इण्डिया**, भाग १, कलकत्ता १९३१, पृ०. ५८–५९; **इण्डियन हिस्टारिकल क्वार्टर्ली (आइ.एच. क्यू)**, जिल्द १६, १९४०, पृ० ६९६; बी. एन. एस. यादव द्वारा उद्धृत **सोसाइटी एण्ड कल्चर इन नार्दर्न इण्डिया इन द ट्वेल्व्थ सेन्चुरी (एस. सी. एन. आई)**, इलाहाबाद, १९७३, पृ० ९७।

११. परवर्ती वैदिक साहित्य में संहिताएँ प्राचीन हैं। **यजुर्वेद संहिता** की तिथि १०००–८०० ई०पू० मानी जाती है। ब्राह्मण ग्रंथ द्वितीय स्तर पर रखे गये हैं जिनकी तिथि १०००–७०० ई० पू० मानी जाती है।

१२. **वाजसनेयि संहिता**, XXX. १७ वर्णाय हिरण्यकारम्।

१३. **तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मण** III ४.१४ वर्णाय हिरण्यकारम्।

१४. मैक्डॉनल एवं कीथ ने हिरण्य का अर्थ सुवर्ण तो किया है परन्तु हिरण्यकार के लिए स्पष्ट रूप से सुवर्णकार नहीं लिखा है **वैदिक इण्डेक्स**, भाग २, पृ० ५६०।

१५. **तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मण** III. ४.४.८ पेशस्कारीं सुवर्णकारस्य भार्याम्।

१६. महीधर (१६ वीं शता० ई०) ने **वाजसनेयि संहिता** के एक मंत्र (३०–९) पर टीका करते हुए पेशस्कारी शब्द की व्याख्या रूपकर्त्री (जो रूप द्वारा अपनी जीविका अर्जित करती है) किया है—निःकृत्यै पेशस्कारीं रूपकर्त्रीम्, परन्तु मैक्डॉनल एवं कीथ को यह अर्थ स्वीकार्य नहीं। पिशेल का भी विचार है कि पेशस् शब्द का अर्थ रूप अथवा रंग के अतिरिक्त और कुछ भी नहीं हो सकता, **वैदिक इण्डेक्स**, भाग २, पृ. २६।

१७. देखिए टिप्पणी संख्या १२ एवं १३।

१८. शिवदत्त ज्ञानी, वेदकालीन समाज, वाराणसी, १९६७, पृ० २५१–५२।

की गई है उनमें सुवर्णकार (हिरण्यकार) प्रथम स्तर पर रखे गए हैं।[19] **अथर्ववेद**[20] से ज्ञात होता है कि तत्कालीन समाज में आर्य समुदाय के लोगों द्वारा भी शिल्पवृत्ति को अपनाया जाता था। धातुकर्मी (Smiths) वैश्यवर्ग में परिगणित किये जाते थे।[21] वैश्य वर्ग से सम्बन्धित होने के कारण और आर्य समुदाय के सदस्यों द्वारा भी शिल्पवृत्ति अपनाये जाने के कारण तत्कालीन समाज में सुवर्णकारों की सामाजिक स्थिति किसी भी प्रकार से निम्न नहीं कही जा सकती। उनकी इस उच्च सामाजिक स्थिति में शारीरिक श्रम के प्रति घृणा का अभाव[22] भी सहायक रहा होगा क्योंकि तत्कालीन समाज में चर्मकार के व्यवसाय के प्रति भी न तो किसी प्रकार का घृणाभाव था और न ही अनादर[23]। शारीरिक श्रम के प्रति घृणाभाव का अभाव समसामयिक विश्व में भी दृष्टिगत है।[24]

ब्राह्मण ग्रंथों, बौद्ध तथा जैन साहित्य, प्रारम्भिक स्मृतियों एवं पुराणों से सुवर्णकार के सम्बन्ध में महत्त्वपूर्ण सूचनायें उपलब्ध होती हैं। श्रौतसूत्रों जिनका रचनाकाल ८०० से ४०० ई०पू० माना गया है, में **बौधायन श्रौतसूत्र**[25] लोहकारों एवं सुवर्णकारों का उल्लेख पृथक्-पृथक् करता है। इसके अतिरिक्त विभिन्न स्वर्णाभूषणों, स्वर्णपात्रों तथा स्वर्ण निष्क के निर्माण की भी सूचना देता है। **बौधायन धर्मसूत्र**[26] (६००–३०० ई०पूर्व) इस तथ्य का उल्लेख करता है कि स्वर्ण निर्मित वस्तुओं को किसी विशेष द्रव पदार्थ (एसिड) से साफ किया जाए। **कात्यायन श्रौतसूत्र**[27] निष्क के अतिरिक्त रुक्म संज्ञक बहु प्रचलित स्वर्णाभूषणों का उल्लेख करता है। यज्ञ के अवसर पर यजमान और उसकी पत्नी दोनों के लिए सोने के हार धारण करने का

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१९. शिवदत्त ज्ञानी, वही।

२०. **अथर्ववेद**, III, ५.६।

२१. एन. के. दत्ता, आई. एच. क्यू., जिल्द १६, १९४०, पृ० ६६६, बी. एन. एस. यादव द्वारा उद्धृत एस. सी. एन. आई., पृ० ९७।

२२. रामशरण शर्मा, **शूद्रों का प्राचीन इतिहास**, नई दिल्ली, १९७९, पृ० ४६।

२३. रामशरण शर्मा, वही।

२४. रिचर्ड फिक, **सोशल आर्गनाइजेशन इन नार्थ ईस्ट इण्डिया इन बुद्धाज टाइम** (अंग्रेजी अनु० एस. के. मैत्र), वाराणसी, १९७२, पृ. ३२५, पाद टिप्पणी, शर्मा, वही, पृ० ४६।

२५. **बौधायन श्रौतसूत्र**, XV १३, रामगोपाल, **इण्डिया ऑफ वैदिक कल्पसूत्राज़**, दिल्ली, १९५९, पृ० १३६ द्वारा उद्धृत।

२६. **बौधायन धर्मसूत्र** I. ५. ८. २८, गोपाल, वही।

२७. **कात्यायन श्रौतसूत्र**, निष्कं प्रतिमुञ्चन्वाचयति..। XX १.९; रुक्ममधः पदं कुरुते . . .। XV ५.२६, द्रष्टव्य के. पी. सिंह, **क्रिटिकल स्टडी ऑफ द कात्यायन श्रौतसूत्र**, वाराणसी, १९९९, पृ० १५५।

विधान भी किया गया है। साथ ही अश्वों एवं रथों को भी स्वर्णाभूषणों से अलंकृत करने का उल्लेख तत्कालीन समाज की आभूषणप्रियता का द्योतक है।[२८] **बौधायन, लाट्यायन** तथा **आपस्तम्ब श्रौतसूत्र** अश्वमेध यज्ञ के अवसर पर चार मुख्य पुरोहितों को दक्षिणा के रूप में एक सहस्र स्वर्णनिष्क प्रदान करने का विधान करता है।[२९] बौद्ध साहित्य दक्ष सुवर्णकारों के द्वारा निर्मित आभूषणों में पट्टिका या मुद्रिका (अंगूठी), वल्लिका (कुंडल), केयूर, सुवर्णमाला या कंचनमाला, पामङ्ग (कर्णफूल) ओवत्तिका (कंकण), हत्थरण (चूड़ी), मेखला इत्यादि का उल्लेख करता है[३०]। पाणिनि (५०० ई०पू०) ने ग्राम-सुवर्णकार का उल्लेख किया है, जो अपने छोटे कक्ष (miniature cupola) में बैठकर तीन प्रकार के (१–नवीन आभूषणों का निर्माण २– पुराने आभूषणों को गलाकर पुनः नया बनाना ३–पुराने आभूषणों पर पालिश करना) कार्यों को सम्पन्न करता था।[३१] यह इस बात की ओर संकेत करता है कि ये ग्रामवासियों की आवश्यकता पूर्ति द्वारा ही अपनी जीविका का निर्वाह करते थे। पुनः पाणिनि ने उस व्यक्ति के लिए जो कसौटी (आकर्ष)[३२] पर सोना परखने में कुशल था, आकर्षिक[३३] शब्द का प्रयोग किया है। पाणिनि की **अष्टाध्यायी** पर वामन जयादित्य विरचित टीका **काशिका**[३४] (७ वीं शता० का प्रथमार्द्ध) में आकर्षिक शब्द का प्रयोग उस व्यक्ति के लिए भी किया गया है जो कसौटी के साथ घूम घूम कर सोना परखा करता था। इन साक्ष्यों के आधार पर कम से कम दो प्रकार के सुवर्णकारों का संकेत प्राप्त होता है, एक तो वह जो अपने घर पर ही रह कर काम करता था और दूसरा वह जो कि घूम-घूम कर काम करता था। एक ही स्थान पर स्थित रहकर और घूम-घूम कर काम करने वाले इन दो प्रकार के शिल्पियों का सुवर्णकार ही प्रथम उदाहरण नहीं, वरन् इस प्रकार के शिल्पियों में तक्षकों[३५]

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२८. **कात्यायन श्रौतसूत्र**, सुत्यादौ हिरण्यस्रजोपि नह्यन्त्यृत्विक्ता यजमानः पत्नी च, XIV १, २३; अश्वाः सौवर्णालङ्काराः रथश्च, XX, ५. १२–१३, सिंह **वही**।

२९. **बौधायन श्रौतसूत्र**, XV २; **लाट्यायन श्रौतसूत्र** । IX ६.२०; **आपस्तम्ब श्रौतसूत्र**, । XVIII ३.४१, द्रष्टव्य आर. एन. शर्मा, **कल्चर एण्ड सिविलाइजेशन ऐज़ रिवील्ड इन द श्रौत-सूत्राज़**, दिल्ली, १९७७, पृ० ८२।

३०. मदनमोहन सिंह, **बुद्धकालीन समाज और धर्म**, पटना, १९७२, पृ० ८०।

३१. वी. एस. अग्रवाल, **इण्डिया ऐज़ नोन टु पाणिनि**, वाराणसी (द्वितीय संस्करण), १९६३, पृ० २३४।

३२. **अष्टाध्यायी** V. २.६४ देखिये वही।

३३. **अष्टाध्यायी** IV. ४९ **वही**।

३४. आकर्ष इति सुवर्णपरिक्षार्थो निक्षोपलः, **काशिका**, अग्रवाल, पूर्वो०, पृ० २३४।

३५. **अष्टाध्यायी** V. ४६५, शर्मा, पूर्वो०, पृ० ८६।

एवं लोहकारों[36] की भी गणना की जा सकती है।

बौद्ध ग्रंथ **अंगुत्तर निकाय** (पूर्व मौर्यकाल) उस शिल्पकार (कम्मार) का उल्लेख करता है; जिसके पास लोग अपने सुवर्ण मुद्रिका के सुवर्ण की शुद्धता की परख हेतु जाया करते थे[37] जातक कथाओं, जिनमें ५वीं शता० ई०पू० से लेकर द्वितीय-तृतीय शता० तक की परम्पराएँ सम्मिलित हैं, में इस बात का उल्लेख मिलता है कि एक राजकुमार ने सुवर्णराशि से स्त्री मूर्ति बनाने के लिए कम्मार-जेट्ठक को आमंत्रित किया था।[38] यह कम्मार[39] जेट्ठक निश्चय ही सुवर्णकार था। जेट्ठक के इस उल्लेख से स्पष्ट है कि सुवर्णकारों का श्रेणियों के रूप में संगठन हो चुका था। डा० आर. सी. मजूमदार[40] ने जातकों एवं विधि-ग्रंथों के आधार पर जिन श्रेणियों के अस्तित्व की संभावना व्यक्त की है, उनमें सुवर्णकार भी सम्मिलित हैं। **धम्मपद अट्ठकथा** उन ५०० सुवर्णकारों का उल्लेख करती है, जिन्होंने रात दिन काम करके चार महीने में कोषाध्यक्ष की पुत्री विशाखा के लिए आभूषण तैयार किये थे।[41] सुवर्णकारों द्वारा श्रेणियों को संगठन उन्हें अपेक्षाकृत उच्च सामाजिक स्थिति प्रदान करने में सहायक सिद्ध हुआ होगा। **दीघ निकाय** (पूर्व मौर्यकाल) से ज्ञात होता है कि चुंद नामक सुवर्णकार के यहाँ बुद्ध ने अपना अंतिम भोजन भी किया था।[42] सुवर्णकार इस समय सम्माननीय सामाजिक स्थिति का उपभोग कर रहे थे क्योंकि जातकों तथा बौद्ध साहित्य से अनेक ऐसे साक्ष्य प्राप्त होते हैं, जिनके अनुसार अनेक ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय, वैश्य आदि अपनी सामा-

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३६. आदित्य प्रसाद ओझा, "प्राचीन एवं पूर्व मध्यकालीन भारत में लोहकारों की स्थिति" **जर्नल ऑफ द गुजरात विद्यापीठ**, अहमदाबाद।

३७. **अंगुत्तर निकाय** IV पृ. १२०, द्रष्टव्य नरेन्द्र वागले, **सोसाइटी ऐट द टाइम ऑफ बुद्धा**, बम्बई, १९६६, पृ० १३९।

३८. **जातक** V . २८२, फिक, पूर्वो० पृ० २८४; ए. एन. बोस, **सोशल एण्ड रूरल इकॉनामी ऑफ नार्दर्न इण्डिया**, जिल्द १, कलकत्ता, १९००, पृ० २३९।

३९. बौद्ध साहित्य में कम्मार शब्द अधिकांशतः लोहकारों का ही द्योतक है परन्तु कुछ स्थलों पर यह सुवर्णकारों के लिए भी प्रयुक्त हुआ है। लोहकारों के लिए प्रयुक्त **कम्मार** शब्द के लिए देखिये ए. पी. ओ का लेख, पूर्वो०।

४०. आर. सी. मजूमदार, **प्राचीन भारत में संघटित जीवन** (अनु० के. डी. बाजपेयी), सागर, १९६६, पृ० १९।

४१. **धम्मपद अट्ठकथा** १, पृ. ३८४; जे. सी. जैन, **जैन आगम साहित्य में भारतीय समाज**, वाराणसी, १९६५, पृ० १४२ एस. के. दास, द्वारा उद्धृत **द इकॉनामिक हिस्ट्री ऑफ एन्शिएण्ट इण्डिया**, इलाहाबाद (पुनर्मुद्रण), १९८०, पृ० ९९।

४२. **दीघनिकाय**, II पृ० १३५–३६, देखिये नरेन्द्र वागले, पूर्वो०, पृ० १३९।

जिक प्रतिष्ठा खोये बिना शिल्पवृत्ति कर रहे थे ।[४३] यद्यपि पालिग्रंथों में हीन शिल्पों का उल्लेख किया गया है[४४], परन्तु उनमें सुवर्णकारों के शिल्प का उल्लेख कहीं भी नहीं मिलता है । इससे भी उनकी उच्च सामाजिक स्थिति का ज्ञान होता है। परन्तु उपर्युक्त साक्ष्यों से सुवर्णकारों के वर्ण के सम्बन्ध में कोई भी जानकारी नहीं मिलती । सुवर्णकारों के वर्ण के सम्बन्ध में सर्वप्रथम सूचना पतञ्जलि का **महाभाष्य**[४५] (२०० ई० पू०) देता है, जिसके अनुसार समस्त कारि (शिल्पकार) जातियाँ शूद्र थीं। पालि ग्रंथों[४६] में निम्नजाति एवं निम्न व्यवसाय में भेद स्थापित करने का प्रयास किया गया है। इससे ऐसा लगता है कि इन ग्रंथों के रचना काल तक जातियों का स्वरुप निश्चित नहीं हो पाया था, परन्तु पतञ्जलि के समय तक जातियों का स्वरुप निश्चित होने लगा था ।

अर्थशास्त्र (४०० ई०पू०–२०० ई०) न केवल राज्य द्वारा सुसंगठित अक्षशाला[४७] का उल्लेख करता है, जिसका प्रधान अधिकारी सुवर्णाध्यक्ष होता था, अपितु विशिखा[४८] (Market highway) में उनकी कार्य प्रणाली का भी विस्तृत विवरण प्रस्तुत करता है। उत्तर भारतीय इस विशिखा, जिसे हम सुवर्ण बाजार कह सकते हैं, की परम्परा दक्षिण भारत में भी देखने को मिलती है । दक्षिण भारतीय **शिलप्पदिकारम्** महाकाव्य ऐसी सुवर्णकार वीथियों (city streets) का उल्लेख करता है, जहाँ प्रत्येक दुकान पर फहरने वाले ध्वज उसमें बेचे जाने वाले सुवर्ण प्रकारों की सूचना देते थे ।[४९] परन्तु दोनों में एक मूलभूत अन्तर अवश्य था, जहाँ एक ओर कौटिल्य द्वारा वर्णित विशिखा राज्य की ओर से संचालित की जाती थी वहीं दूसरी तरफ दक्षिण भारतीय ये बाजार व्यापारियों द्वारा निजी ढंग से चलाये जाते थे । परन्तु इस संभावना से इंकार नहीं किया जा सकता कि राज्य का उस पर किसी न किसी प्रकार का नियंत्रण अवश्य रहा होगा। दक्षिण भारत में सुवर्णकारों के लिए 'पोर्कोल्लर' शब्द का प्रयोग किया गया गया है[५०] । दक्षिण भारतीय साहित्य कुछ सुवर्णकारों के कवि होने की सूचना भी देता

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४३. जातक V २९०–९३, एम. के. पाल, पूर्वो० पृ० १०८; ई. जे. रैप्सन, **सी. एच. आई.**, पृ० १८१ ।

४४. **सुत्तविभङ्गपाचित्तिय** II .२.१; **विनयपिटक**, IV. ७ ।

४५. प्रभुदयाल अग्निहोत्री, **पतञ्जलिकालीन भारत**, पटना, १९६३, पृ० १५३ ।

४६. आर.एन. मिश्रा, **एन्शिएण्ट आर्टिस्ट्स एण्ड आर्ट ऐक्टिविटी**, शिमला, १७५, पृ. ५ ।

४७. **अर्थशास्त्र** II १३ ।

४८. **अर्थशास्त्र** II १४ ।

४९. दीपक रंजन दास, **इकॉनमिक हिस्ट्री ऑफ द डेक्कन**, दिल्ली, १९६९, पृं० १७६ ।

५०. के.के. पिल्ले, **द सोशल हिस्ट्री ऑफ द तमिल्स**,, भाग १, मद्रास, १९७५ पृ० पृ. २०९ ।

है।[५१] नागार्जुनीकोण्डा से सुवर्णकार की दुकान का एक पुरातात्त्विक साक्ष्य प्राप्त हुआ है। उल्लेखनीय है कि इस उत्खनन से कान का बाला और पत्थर के बाट के अतिरिक्त कसौटी भी प्राप्त हुई है।[५२] बौद्ध ग्रंथ **महावस्तु**[५३] (२०० ई० पू०–४०० ई०) २६ प्रकार के शिल्पकारों का उल्लेख करता है जो राजगृह नगर में निवास करते थे। इनमें ताम्रकार, लोहकार आदि के साथ सुवर्णकार भी सम्मिलित थे। इन शिल्पों में परम्परागत रूप से उल्लिखित अष्टादश श्रेणियों[५४] के उदाहरण में सुवर्णकार का उल्लेख किया गया है। इतना ही नहीं **महावस्तु** द्वारा सुवर्णकार महत्तर[५५] का उल्लेख भी उनके श्रेणियों में संगठित होने का निश्चित साक्ष्य प्रस्तुत करता है। **मिलिन्दपन्हो**[५६] (प्रथम शता० ई०) रथकारों, चर्मकारों, कुम्भकारों, पेस्सकारों (तन्तुवायों) आदि के साथ सुवर्णकारों का भी उल्लेख करता है।

जैन ग्रंथ **अंगविज्जा** जिसकी रचना कुषाण काल में हुई तथा गुप्त युग में जिसे अंतिम रूप प्रदान किया गया, भी सुवर्णकारों के संदर्भ में पर्याप्त सूचना देता है। **अंगविज्जा** अकेले ही ३०० से अधिक प्रकार के स्वर्णाभूषणों का उल्लेख करता है[५७], जिससे स्पष्ट है कि तत्कालीन समाज में स्वर्णाभूषणों की काफी माँग थी। इतनी बड़ी संख्या में स्वर्णाभूषणों का निर्माण और विक्रय के कारण यह निष्कर्ष स्वाभाविक ही है कि सुवर्णकारों का व्यवसाय काफी लाभदायक था और वे पर्याप्त सम्पन्न भी थे। स्वर्णउद्योग के इतने लाभकारी और महत्त्वपूर्ण होने के कारण ही कौटिल्य ने राज्य को अपनी अक्षशाला निर्मित करने और स्वतंत्र रूप से कार्य करने वाले सुवर्णकारों पर भी राज्य द्वारा नियंत्रण रखने का विधान प्रस्तुत किया।[५८] तत्कालीन अभिलेखों में सुवर्णकारों द्वारा दिये गये दानों के उल्लेख से भी उनकी आर्थिक सम्पन्नता द्योतित होती है। मथुरा जैन अभिलेख[५९] नंदिक पुत्र नंदिघोष नामक सुवर्णकार द्वारा आयाग-

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५१. वही।

५२. **इण्डियन आर्क्यालॉजी-ए रिव्यू**, १९५९–६०, पृ० ९, देखिये दीपक रंजन दास, पूर्व, पूर्वो० १७।

५३. **महावस्तु अवदान**, सम्पा० राधा गोविन्द बसाक, कलकत्ता, १९६४, III. ४४२।

५४. मजूमदार, **पूर्वो०**, पृ. १९ वही।

५५. **महावस्तु**, II. ४७०।

५६. **मिलिन्दपन्हो**, (सम्पा.), वी. ट्रेन्कनर, लन्दन, १९६२, पृ. ३३१।

५७. **अंगविज्जा**, वाराणसी, १९५७, पृ० ३५५–५७; एस. सी. भट्टाचार्या, **सम आस्पेक्ट्स ऑफ इण्डियन सोसाइटी**, कलकत्ता, १९७८, पृ० १९।

५८. तुलना कीजिए, भट्टाचार्या **वही**।

५९. लूडर्स सूची, ९५, यह सूची सर्वप्रथम **एपिग्राफिया इण्डिका** X में परिशिष्ट के रूप में दी गई है।

पट्ट की स्थापना का उल्लेख करता है। जुन्नार बौद्ध लेख[६०] में कल्याण के सुवर्णकार संघक द्वारा एक जलाशय (पोढ़ि) के दान की सूचना दी गई। इसी प्रकार कन्हेरी बौद्ध अभिलेख[६१] द्वारा ज्ञात होता है कि कल्याण के ही एक दूसरे सुवर्णकार स्वामिदत्त ने भी संघ को एक जलाशय (पनियक) का दान दिया था। सुवर्णकारों द्वारा दान की इस परम्परा का उदाहरण बाद के काल में भी मिलता है।[६२] सुवर्णकारों द्वारा श्रेणियों में संगठित होने के अतिरिक्त उनकी इस आर्थिक सम्पन्नता का भी उनकी अपेक्षाकृत उच्च सामाजिक स्थिति पर प्रभाव पड़ा होगा। परन्तु यह बात भी ध्यान रखने योग्य है कि सभी सुवर्णकार न तो आर्थिक रूप से ही सम्पन्न रहे होंगे और न ही श्रेणियों द्वारा सभी अपने हितों की सुरक्षा ही कर पाते रहे होंगे। नगर में निवास करने वाले सुवर्णकारों एवं ग्रामों में निवसित सुवर्णकारों की सामाजिक स्थिति में भी अन्तर रहा होगा। रवीन्द्रनाथ वसु[६३] ने **मिलिन्दपन्हो** के अध्ययन के आधार पर सुवर्णकारों की महत्ता के विषय में जो संदेह व्यक्त किया है वह निश्चय ही ग्रामीण सुवर्णकारों को ध्यान में रखकर किया गया है। नगरों में धनाढ्यों द्वारा स्वर्णाभूषणों की अधिक माँग के कारण भी नगरीय सुवर्णकारों और ग्रामीण सुवर्णकारों की सामाजिक स्थिति में अन्तर रहा होगा। क्षेत्रीयता के आधार पर भी इन्होंने भिन्न-भिन्न सामाजिक स्तर का उपभोग किया होगा।

रामायण (३०० ई०पू०–२०० ई०) अयोध्या के उन तमाम व्यवसायियों एवं शिल्पकारों के साथ सुवर्णकारों का भी उल्लेख करता है, जिन्होंने कि भरत के साथ चित्रकूट की यात्रा की थी।[६४] **महाभारत** (४०० ई० पू०–४००ई०) के शान्ति पर्व में इस बात का उल्लेख हुआ है कि परशुराम की क्रोधाग्नि से बचकर कुछ क्षत्रियों ने लोहकारों एवं सुवर्णकारों का व्यवसाय प्रारम्भ कर दिया था।[६५] ये साक्ष्य सुवर्णकारों की

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६०. लूडर्स सूची ११७७।

६१. लूडर्स सूची ९८६।

६२. **मत्स्य पुराण** ६१, २३–३२ देखिये आर. एस. शर्मा पृ० २५३। १११० ई० का एक अभिलेख इस बात का प्रमाण प्रस्तुत करता है कि अनेक श्रेणियों के १२० सदस्यों ने एहूर के भगवान कम्मटेश्वर को दान दिया। शिल्पकारों की अन्य श्रेणियों के साथ सुवर्णकारों की श्रेणी भी इसमें सम्मिलित है, **एपिग्राफिया इण्डिका**, XII पृ० ३३३, द्रष्टव्य आर० सी० मजूमदार, पूर्वो० पृ० ८२।

६३. रवीन्द्र नाथ वसु, ए **क्रिटिकल स्टडी ऑफ द मिलिन्दपन्ह**, कलकत्ता, १९७८, पृ. ५९।

६४. ए० के० मजूमदार, **इकॉनामिक बैकग्राउण्ड ऑफ द इपिक सोसाइटी**, कलकत्ता, १९७७, पृ. १०८; पाल, **पूर्वो०**, पृ० ११०।

६५. शान्तिपर्व ४९।८४ चोकारहेमकारादिजातिं नित्यं समाश्रिताः, पी० वी० काणे, **धर्मशास्त्र का इतिहास** प्रथम भाग (अनु० अर्जुन चौबे कश्यप) पृ० १३८।

सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठा की ओर संकेत करते हैं।

मनु (२०० ई०पू०–२०० ई०), **याज्ञवल्क्य** (१००–३०० ई०), **नारद** (१००–४०० ई०), **विष्णु** (१००–३०० ई०), **बृहस्पति** (३००–५०० ई०) इत्यादि स्मृतियों तथा **कूर्म** आदि पुराणों के अतिरिक्त **कामसूत्र** (चतुर्थ शता० ई०), **अमरकोश**, (गुप्त युग) तथा **बृहत्संहिता** (छठीं शता० ई०) जैसे ग्रंथों में भी सुवर्णकारों का संदर्भ प्राप्त होता है। ये समस्त साक्ष्य सुवर्णकारों को शूद्रवर्गीय बताते हैं। **मनु**,[६६] **याज्ञवल्क्य**[६७] और **बृहस्पति**[६८] **स्मृतियों** के अतिरिक्त **कूर्मपुराण**[६९] भी सुवर्णकारों को अभोज्यान्न घोषित करता है। मनु के अनुसार सुवर्णकार का अन्न खाने से स्नातक की आयु क्षीण होती है।[७०] बृहस्पति सुवर्णकार का अन्न खाने पर ब्राह्मण को प्रायश्चित के रूप में १२ दिन तक यव पीने को कहते हैं।[७१] **नारद**[७२] और **विष्णु**[७३] **स्मृति** तौल नामक दिव्य में सुवर्णकारों के तौलने का उल्लेख करती है। **कामसूत्र** में उल्लिखित ६४ कलाओं के अन्तर्गत सुवर्णकला का उल्लेख है।[७४] साथ ही नागरिकों के विलास-सामग्रियों के पूर्तिकारों में भी सुवर्णकारों को सम्मिलित किया गया है।[७५] **अमरकोश** ने शिल्पियों को शूद्रवर्ग में परिगणित किया है। इसमें सुवर्णकारों के ४ नाम आये हैं—नाडिन्धमः, स्वर्णकारः कलादः एवं रुक्मकारक।[७६] दक्षिण भारत में इन्हें 'कंसालि' कहा जाता था जो कि पाँच प्रकार के शिल्पकारों (पंचानाम् वारु) में से एक थे।[७७] वराहमिहिर की

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६६. **मनुस्मृति** IV. २१५।
६७. **याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति** I. १६३।
६८. **बृहस्पति स्मृति**, प्रायश्चित्त काण्ड, ४।
६९. **कूर्मपुराण** II. १७.७।
७०. **मनुस्मृति** IV. २१८।
७१. **बृहस्पति स्मृति**, प्रायश्चित्त काण्ड, ७।
७२. **नारद स्मृति**, ऋणादान, २१४, काणे, पूर्वो० पृ० १३८।
७३. **विष्णु स्मृति** X. ४ वही।
७४. **कामसूत्र** I. III पृ० २३; एस. के. मैती, **इकॉनामिक लाइफ इन नार्दर्न इण्डिया इन द गुप्ता पीरियड**, द्वितीय संशोधित संस्करण, दिल्ली, १९७०, पृ० १३४।
७५. एच०सी० चकलादार, **सोशल लाइफ इन एन्शिएण्ट इण्डिया**, द्वितीय संशोधित संस्करण, १९५४, अध्याय V।
७६. **अमरकोश** II. १०.८।
७७. **एपिग्राफिया इण्डिका**, XXX, पृ० ३ तथा आगे; हरिपद चक्रवर्ती, **इण्डिया ऐज़ रिफ्लेक्टेड इन द इंसक्रिप्शन्स ऑफ द गुप्ता पीरियड**, प्रथम संस्करण, १९७८, नई दिल्ली, पृ. ११०; टी. वी. महालिंगम्, **साउथ इण्डियन पॉलिटी**, मद्रास, १९६७, पृ० ३९४।

बृहत्संहिता में सोनारों के लिए हिरण्यपण्य[७८], हैरण्यक[७९] एवं सुवर्णकार[८०] शब्द प्रयुक्त हुआ है। इससे ऐसा लगता है कि सुवर्णकारों का व्यवसाय काफी प्रगति कर रहा था। **विष्णु**[८१] और **मनुस्मृति**[८२] में ऐसा विधान किया गया है कि महीने में एक दिन शिल्पीगण राजा का बेगार करेंगे। राजा के लिए विष्टि का यह नियम इसके पहले भी **गौतम**[८३] और **वसिष्ठ**[८४] **धर्मसूत्रों** (६००–३०० ई०पू०) में प्राप्त होता है। छठी शता० ई० का एक अभिलेख इस परम्परा का पुरातात्त्विक साक्ष्य प्रस्तुत करता है।[८५] यदि इस अभिलेख में परिगणित धातुकर्मियों (Smiths) में सुवर्णकारों की भी गणना की जाए तो गुप्त काल में राज्य द्वारा सुवर्णकारों से विष्टि ली जाने की बात प्रमाणित होती है। अभोज्यान्न की सूची में सुवर्णकारों की गणना और राज्य द्वारा इनसे विष्टि लेना इनकी पूर्ववर्ती सामाजिक स्थिति में ह्रास का द्योतक है।

पूर्व मध्यकालीन साहित्यिक एवं पुरातात्त्विक स्रोतों से भी सुवर्णकारों की सामाजिक स्थिति के संबंध में पर्याप्त सामग्री उपलब्ध होती है। जैन ग्रंथ **जम्बूद्वीप प्रज्ञप्ति**[८६] (८वीं शता० ई०) एवं **ज्ञातृधर्मकथा**[८७] (११ वीं शता० ई०) सुवर्णकारों की श्रेणियों का उल्लेख करती है। दक्षिण भारतीय अभिलेखों में भी सुवर्णकार श्रेणियों का उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है।[८८] **ज्ञातृधर्मकथा** के अनुसार मिथिला के राजा कुम्भक ने राजकुमारी मल्ली के टूटे हुए कुंडल को जोड़ने के लिए नगर की सुवर्णकार श्रेणी को बुलाया और जब वे यह काम न कर सके तो उन्हें निर्वासित कर दिया।[८९] **आवश्यक टीका**[९०] तथा **सम्मोह**

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७८. **बृहत्संहिता** V. ७४; अजय मित्र शास्त्री, **इण्डिया ऐज सीन इन द बृहत्संहिताज ऑफ वराहमिहिर**, दिल्ली, १९६९, पृ० ३०७।

७७. **बृहत्संहिता** LXXXVI. ३२।

८०. **बृहत्संहिता** LXXXVI, ३०।

८१. **विष्णुस्मृति** III, ३२।

८२. **मनुस्मृति** VII, १३८।

८३. **गौतम धर्मसूत्र** X. ३१–३३।

८४. **वसिष्ठ धर्मसूत्र** XIX. २८।

८५. **जर्नल ऑफ द रायल एशियाटिक सोसाइटी ऑफ बंगाल, कलकत्ता**, सीरीज; III XIV देखिये शर्मा, पूर्वो० पृ० २३०।

८६. **जम्बूद्वीप प्रज्ञप्ति**, ३.४३, पृ० १९३, देखिये जैन, वही पृ० १९५।

८७. **ज्ञातृधर्मकथा** ८, पृ० १०५, जैन, पूर्वो० पृ० ८७

८८. महालिंगम्, पूर्वो०, पृ० ३९४; ए० अप्पादुराई, **इकॉनामिक कंडीशन्स इन सदर्न इण्डिया**, भाग १, मद्रास, १९३६, पृ० ३६७।

८९. **ज्ञातृधर्मकथा** ८, पृ० १०५, देखिए, जे. सी. जैन, पूर्वो० पृ० ८७।

९०. देखिये जे. सी. जैन, वही, पृ० १८७।

विनोदिनी[९१] नामक जैन सूत्रों में भी खोटे सिक्कों के पहिचानने के संदर्भ में सुवर्णकारों का उल्लेख आया है। ११४२ ई० क. करहाड़ के शिलाहारों का एक अभिलेख सोने के सिक्कों की परख के लिए सुवर्णकारों द्वारा परखाई लेने का उल्लेख करता है।[९२] जैन ग्रंथ **आवश्यकचूर्णी** में चम्पा के प्रसिद्ध सुवर्णकार कुमारनन्दी का उल्लेख प्राप्त है, जिसने राजकुल में सुवर्ण भेंट करके अपने साथ पंचशैल की यात्रा करने वालों को बहुत सा रुपया देने की घोषणा पटह द्वारा की थी[९३]। जैनग्रंथ **जम्बूद्वीप प्रज्ञप्ति** में सुवर्णकारों को नारुआ वर्ग के अन्तर्गत रखा है, जो कि स्पृश्य थे[९४] शंख और सुमन्त (६००–६०० ई०) इन्हें निषाद की श्रेणी देते हैं।[९५] उल्लेखनीय है कि निषाद पूर्वमध्य काल में अछूत माने जाते थे।[९६] **बृहन्नारदीय पुराण**[९७] (९वीं शता० ई०) सुवर्णकारों को सामाजिक अनुक्रम में केवल तन्तुवाय से नीचे परन्तु चर्मकार, चाण्डाल, व्याध, रजक, कुम्भकार और लोहकार से ऊपर रखता है। जिनेश्वर सूरि का **कथाकोश प्रकरण**[९८] (गुजरात, वि० सं०–११०८— १०५१ ई०) तथा **ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराण**[९९] (बंगाल, लगभग १३ वीं शता० ई०) सुवर्णकारों को अधम शिल्पियों की श्रेणी में परिगणित करता है। **ब्रह्म पुराण** को उद्धृत करते हुए **याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति** के टीकाकार अपरार्क[१००] ;१२ वीं शता०) सुवर्णकारों को अभोज्यान्न कहते हैं। **बृहद्धर्म पुराण**[१०१] जो १३ वीं शता० ई० में बंगाल में रचा गया, मिश्रित जातियों के उत्तम, मध्यम और अधम संकरों में सुवर्णकारों की गणना मध्यम संकर की कोटि में करता है, जबकि **ब्रह्मवैवर्त पुराण**[१००] इन्हें सत् शूद्र घोषित करता है। इनके सामाजिक स्तर के संदर्भ में सर्वाधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण साक्ष्य १३ वीं शता० के विधि निर्माता हेमाद्रि विरचित **चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि**

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९१. वहां।
९२. एपि० इण्डि० XIX पृ० ३० तथा आगे ; जी. याजदानी (सम्पादक) **दकन का प्राचीन इतिहास**, दिल्ली, १९७७, पृ० ४०३ ।
९३. **आवश्यकचूर्णी**, पृ० ३९७, जे. सी. जैन द्वारा उद्धृत, पृ० १४।
९४. **एस. सी. एन. आई.** , पृ० ४२ ।
९५. काणे, पूर्वा०, पृ० १३८ ।
९६. विवेकानन्द झा "फ्राम ट्राइब टु अनटचेबिल; द केस ऑफ निषादाज" **इण्डियन सोसाइटी : हिस्टारिकल प्रोबिंग्स**, (सम्पा०) आर. एस. शर्मा एवं विवेकानन्द झा, पृ० ६७–८४।
९७. यादव, पृ० ४६।
९८. यादव, पृ० ५४।
९९. यादव, पृ० ४।
१००. अपरार्क (**याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति पर**) पृ० ११७७–७९, पाल द्वारा उद्धृत, पृ० ११४।
१०१. **बृहद्धर्मपुराण** III, १३ देखिये एस. सी. एन. आई. पृ० ४७ ।
१०२. **ब्रह्मवैवर्त पुराण** X ७–८ ।

प्रस्तुत करता है।[१०३] हेमाद्रि ने परम्परागत रूप से उल्लिखित ७ अन्त्यजों[१०४] की सूची में ९ और नवीन निम्न जातियों को जोड़ा है। हेमाद्रि ने अन्त्यजों की इस नवीन सूची में सुवर्णकारों की भी गणना की है[१०५]। इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं कि वैदिक कालीन वैश्य वर्ण से सम्बन्ध रखने वाले और तत्पश्चात् शूद्रों की निम्नतर सामाजिक स्थिति का उपभोग करने वाले सुवर्णकार पूर्वमध्य काल तक आते आते अन्त्यजों के निम्नतम सामाजिक स्तर पर पहुँच जाते हैं। पूर्व मध्यकालीन युग में शिल्पकारों को अन्त्यजों के निम्नतम सामाजिक स्तर प्राप्त करने का सुवर्णकार एकमात्र उदाहरण नहीं है, अपितु तन्तुवायों[१०६], लोहकारों[१०७], कुम्भकारों[१०८], वंसकारों[१०९], चर्मकारों[११०] आदि को भी अन्त्यजों का निम्नतम सामाजिक स्तर प्रदान किया गया है। पूर्व मध्य कालीन युग में शिल्पकारों को निम्न सामाजिक स्तर प्रदान करने का यह प्रयास न केवल भारतीय संदर्भ में अपितु विश्वस्तर पर भी देखा जा सकता है।[१११]

पूर्व मध्य कालीन भारत में सुवर्णकारों के इस निम्नतम सामाजिक स्तर पर पहुँचने के कारणों के संदर्भ में इस काल में शिल्पकारों की श्रेणियों के ह्रास[११२], उनकी सामाजिक गतिहीनता[११३] और वाणिज्य तथा व्यवसाय के ह्रास[११४] का

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१०३. **प्रायश्चित्त काण्ड**, पृ० ९, यादव द्वारा उद्धृत पृ० ४६

१०४. ये सात अन्त्यज हैं रजक, चर्मकार, नट, बुरुड, कैवर्त, मेद, भिल्ल। देखिये ओझा, "प्राचीन एवं पूर्व मध्यकालीन भारत में तन्तुवायों की सामाजिक स्थिति—एक ऐतिहासिक विश्लेषण" पृ० २०९।

१०५. हेमाद्रि के ९ नवीन अन्त्यजों में तक्षक, सुवर्णकार, सूचिक, तिलयन्त्री, सूत, चक्री, ध्वजी, नापित और लोहकार सम्मिलित हैं:; द्रष्टव्य, यादव, पृ० ४६।

१०६. ओझा, '..तन्तुवायों की सामाजिक स्थिति' पृ० २०८।

१०७. ओझा, ब्लैक स्मिथ्स इन एन्शिएण्ट एण्ड अर्ली मेडिवल इण्डिया।'

१०८. ओझा, "पॉटर्स इन सोशियो रीजनल स्ट्रेटीफिकेशन ऑफ एन्शिएण्ट इण्डिया'

१०९. **विवेकानन्द झा**, 'बैम्बू—वर्कर्स एण्ड बास्केट मेकर्स..."

११०. विवेकानन्द झा "लेदर वर्क्‌स ...."

१११. देखिए यादव, **पूर्वो०**, पृ० ४३।

११२. वी. एन. एस. यादव, "द एकाउन्ट्स ऑफ द कलि एज एण्ड द सोशल ट्रान्सीशिन फ्राम द ऐन्टीक्विटी टु द मिडिल एज" **रिदम ऑफ हिस्ट्री**, जिल्द IV, १९७६-७७, पृ० ५५; लल्लन जी गोपाल **इकॉनामिक लाइफ ऑफ नार्दर्न इण्डिया**, दिल्ली १९६५, पृ० ८१ तथा आगे।

११३. यादव, "द एकाउन्ट्स ...." पृ० ५७।

११४. रामशरण शर्मा, **इण्डियन फ्यूडलिज्म**, कलकत्ता, १९६५, पृ० ८४, १११; **एस. सी. एन. आई.**, पृ० २६२–६३।

उल्लेख किया जा सकता है। परन्तु यह उल्लेखनीय है कि ११ वीं–१२वीं शता० में वाणिज्य एवं व्यवसाय में कुछ प्रगति अवश्य दिखाई पड़ती है[११५]। पूर्व मध्यकालीन अभिलेखों से यह ज्ञात होता है कि सुवर्णकारों को भी भूमि के साथ दानग्राही को सौंप दिया जाता था[११६]। इस प्रथा का भी उनकी सामाजिक स्थिति पर प्रभाव पड़ा होगा। जिन दासगणि कृत जैनग्रंथ **निशीथचूर्णी**[११७] (७वीं शता० ई० का अंतिम चरण) में इस तथ्य का उल्लेख प्राप्त है कि जब किसी सुवर्णकार को सोने के मोरंग (कुंडल) गढ़ने को कहा तो उसने उसे सोने के स्थान पर ताँबे का बना दिया था। धोखा देने की यह प्रवृत्ति काश्मीर के कवि क्षेमेन्द्र (११वीं शता० ई०) के **कलाविलास** नामक ग्रंथ में भी वर्णित है। उन्होंने सुवर्णकारों की निन्दा करते हुए उनकी चोरी की प्रवृत्ति को चूहों द्वारा दिन रात सामान ढो-ढोकर बिल में रखने की प्रक्रिया से समीकृत किया है[११८]। सुवर्णकारों द्वारा की जाने वाली अनेक प्रकार की बेइमानियों का वर्णन कौटिल्य ने भी **अर्थशास्त्र** में किया है[११९]। सुवर्णकारों द्वारा की जाने वाले इन धोखे एवं बेइमानीपूर्ण कृत्यों ने भी उनको निम्नतम सामाजिक स्तर प्रदान करने में कुछ योगदान दिया होगा। इस सन्दर्भ में क्षेत्रीय विभिन्नताओं[१२०] पर भी ध्यान देना आवश्यक है। सभी क्षेत्रों में सुवर्णकार अन्त्यज रहे होंगे ऐसा हम नहीं कह सकते।

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११५. एस. सी. एन. आई. पृ० २७५ तथा आगे।

११६. बी.एन.एस.यादव,, (प्रेसीडेंशियल ऐड्रेस, सेक्शन I एन्शिएण्ट इण्डिया), इण्डियन हिस्ट्री कांग्रेस, XLI सेशन, बम्बई, दिसम्बर, १९८०, पृ० १३–१४; लल्लन जी गोपाल, पूर्वो०, पृ० २२।

११७. जे.सी. जैन, पूर्वो०, पृ० १४२।

११८. **कलाविलास**, VIII, १९–२९।

११९. **अर्थशास्त्र**, II, १४।

१२०. अन्य शिल्पकारों की सामाजिक स्थिति के संदर्भ में भी क्षेत्रीय विभिन्नताओं पर ध्यान दिया गया है। तन्तुवायों, लोहकारों और कुम्भकारों की सामाजिक स्थिति में क्षेत्रीय विभिन्नताओं के लिए देखिये ओझा के लेख, पाद टिप्पणी संख्या–१।

अर्थापत्तिविवेचनम्

एन्० एस्० रामानुजताताचार्यः

तिरुपतिः

Naiyāyikas accept only four pramāṇas and take *arthapātti* within *anumāna* whereas the Mīmāṃsakas and Vedāntins maintain its separate identity. A critical analysis of the views of different schools regarding *arthāpātti* based on their respective śāstras is presented here.

तत्र तावच्छबरस्वामिनः[१]

"अर्थापत्तिरपि दृष्टः श्रुतो वार्थोऽन्यथा नोपपद्यत इति अर्थकल्पना । यथा जीवतो देवदत्तस्य गृहाभावदर्शनेन बहिर्भावस्यादृष्टस्य परिकल्पना" इत्यभाषन्त । वार्तिककाराः कुमारिलभट्टपादाः श्लोकवार्तिके[२]

"प्रमाणषट्कविज्ञातो यत्रार्थो नान्यथा भवन् ।
अदृष्टं कल्पयेदन्यं सार्थापत्तिरुदाहृता ॥'

इति प्राहुः । अनयोर्भाष्यवार्तिकयोरयमाशयः—भाष्ये अर्थापत्तिरिति लक्ष्य-निर्देशः । दृष्टः श्रुतो वेत्यादि लक्षणम् । यथाश्रुतभाष्यात् प्रत्यक्षदृष्टः शब्दावगतो वार्थः यमर्थं विना नोपपद्यते तस्यार्थस्य परिकल्पनमर्थापत्तिरिति लभ्यते । तथा सति अर्थापत्तिद्वयस्यैवोपादानेन अनुमानादिपूर्विकाणामर्थापत्तीनामनुपादानेन तासु लक्षणस्याव्याप्तिः स्यात् । यदि तु भाष्यस्थदृष्टशब्दः प्रमाणोपलब्ध इत्यर्थपरः तदाश्रुतस्यापि दृष्टपदेनैव संग्रहात् 'श्रुतो वा' इति पुनरुपादानमनर्थकं प्रसज्यत इत्याशङ्का जायते । अतो वार्तिककारैः किंचित् परिष्कृत्य लक्षणमभ्यधायि । प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणषट्कप्रमितोऽर्थः अन्यथानुपपत्त्या यत् अर्थान्तरं कल्पयति सार्थापत्तिरिति लक्षणम् । अतः सर्वासामर्थापत्तीनां, संग्रहात् न लक्षणस्याव्यापकत्वमिति दोषः । 'श्रुतो वा' इत्यस्य सार्थक्यं तु—

"दृष्टः पञ्चभिरप्यस्मात् भेदेनोक्ता श्रुतोद्भवा ।
प्रमाणग्राहिणीत्वेन यस्मात् पूर्वविलक्षणा ॥"[३]

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१. शाबरभाष्य सूत्र–१–१५
२. श्लोकवार्तिकम् पृष्ठ ३८७ मद्रासविश्वविद्यालयप्रकाशनम् ।
३. तदेव पृष्ठ ३८७

इति श्लोकेन प्रत्यपादि। दृष्टार्थापत्तिः अर्थकल्पिका, श्रुतार्थापत्तिस्तु वाक्यावयवरूप-प्रमाणकल्पनद्वारा अर्थकल्पिकेति श्रुतार्थापत्तेः दृष्टार्थापत्त्यपेक्षया यदस्ति वैलक्षण्यं तत्स्फोरणार्थं श्रुतो वेति पृथगुक्तिर्भाष्ये इति भावः। एतत्तत्त्वं तु श्रुतार्थापत्तिप्रतिपादनसमये अग्रे स्पष्टीकरिष्यामः। सर्वमिदं मनसि कुर्वाणैः पार्थसारथिमिश्रैः शास्त्रदीपिकायाम्[४]।

"प्रमितस्यार्थस्यार्थान्तरेण विनानुपपत्तिमालोच्य तदुपपत्तये यार्थान्तरकल्पना सार्थापत्तिः"

इति लक्षणमभाणि। अत्र प्रमितस्येत्यनेन प्रमाणषट्कपूर्विकार्थापत्तिः सूचिता। तत्र प्रत्यक्षपूर्विका यथा– प्रत्यक्षतोऽवगतात् दाहरूपात् कार्यात् वह्नौ दाहशक्तेः कल्पना। अनुमानपूर्विकार्थापत्तिर्यथा – देशान्तरप्राप्तिरूपेण लिङ्गेन, आदित्यस्य गतिमनुमाय तदन्यथानुपपत्त्या आदित्यस्य गमनशक्तिमत्त्वकल्पनम्। शब्दपूर्विका अर्थापत्तिर्यथा– 'पीनो देवदत्तो दिवा न भुङ्क्ते' इति शब्दतोऽवगतेन पीनस्य सतो देवदत्तस्य दिवा अभोजनेन रात्रिभोजनस्य कल्पनम्। इयमेव श्रुतार्थापत्तिरिति कैश्चिदुच्यते। उपमानपूर्विका अर्थापत्तिर्यथा– गवयदर्शनानन्तरम् एतत्सदृशो गौरिति गवि गवयसादृश्ये उपमानेनावगते सति सदृशज्ञानग्राह्या काचन शक्तिर्गोरस्तीति कल्पनम्। ईदृशी च तत्रानुपपत्तिर्भवति– कथं गवयदर्शनानन्तरमेव गवि गवयसादृश्यज्ञानं जायते, प्रथमदर्शन एव किं न जायते, सन्ति हि तदापि गवि गवयावयवसामान्यानि। तदेवं जातमपि गवि गवयसादृश्यज्ञानमनुपपत्त्या व्याकुलं भवति। तच्च शक्तिकल्पनया उपपाद्यते, अस्ति काचन गोः शक्तिः या प्रतियोगिदर्शनेनाभिव्यक्ता सती गवि गवयसदृशीं धियमुपजनयतीति। अर्थापत्तिपूर्विका अर्थापत्तिर्यथा—अभिधानान्यथानुपपत्तिरूपया अर्थापत्त्या शब्दस्य वाचकशक्तिं कल्पयित्वा पुनस्तदन्यथानुपपत्त्या शब्दस्य नित्यत्वकल्पनम्। प्रत्युच्चारणं शब्दान्यत्वे अन्यस्मिन् गृहीतसम्बन्धे अन्यस्य वाचकत्वं न स्यात्। सादृश्येन तदर्थप्रतिपादकत्वाभ्युपगमे लिङ्गाभासोत्पन्नज्ञानवदप्रमाणं स्यात्। न चात्र सदृशप्रतीतिरस्ति, तत्त्वेनैव प्रत्ययात्। अतो वाचकशक्त्यनुपपत्त्या शब्दनित्यत्वकल्पनम्। अभावपूर्विका अर्थापत्तिर्यथा—जीवतो देवदत्तस्यानुपलब्ध्या गृहेऽभावमवगम्य तदन्यथानुपपत्त्या बहिस्सत्त्वस्य कल्पनमिति।

सर्वमिदमुक्तं वार्तिके[५]—

"तत्र प्रत्यक्षतो ज्ञातात् दाहाद्दहनशक्तता।
वह्नेरनुमितात् सूर्ये यानात् तच्छक्तियोग्यता॥
श्रुतार्थापत्तिरत्रैव परस्तादभिधास्यते।

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४. **शास्त्रदीपिका** पृष्ठ ७६, निर्णय सागर प्रेस

५. **श्लोकवार्तिकम्** पृष्ठ ३८८–८९

गवयोपमिताया गोस्तज्ज्ञानग्राह्यता मता ॥
अभिधानप्रसिद्ध्यर्थमर्थापत्त्यावबोधितात् ।
शब्दे बोधकसामर्थ्यात्तन्नित्यत्वप्रकल्पनम् ॥
प्रमाणाभावनिर्णीताच्चैत्राभावविशेषितात् ।
गेहाच्चैव बहिर्भावसिद्धिर्या त्विह दर्शिता ॥
तामभावोत्थितामन्यामर्थापत्तिमुदाहरत् ॥" इति ।

नन्वनुपपन्नात् प्रमाणप्रमितादर्थात् उपपादकस्यार्थस्य कल्पनमर्थापत्तिरिति पर्यवसितम् । इदं चानुमानमेव । अनुमानस्थलेऽपि हि वह्निमन्तरेणानुपपन्नाद्धूमात् वह्निः कल्प्यते । तथा चार्थापत्तिरनुमानेऽन्तर्भवतीति चेत्— अत्रोच्यते । अनुमानस्थले हि यत् गमकं तन्निश्चितं भवति, निश्चितस्यैव धूमादेर्वह्निगमकत्वात् । अर्थापत्तिस्थले तु यत् गमकं तत् सन्दिग्धमित्यनयोर्वैषम्यात् । तथा हि— बहिस्सत्त्वं प्रति न केवलं गृहासत्त्वं गमकम्, बहिस्सत्त्वशून्ये मृतेऽपि गृहासत्त्वस्य सद्भावेन व्यभिचारित्वात् । अपि तु गृहासत्त्वविशिष्टं जीवनं बहिस्सत्त्वस्य गमकम् । जीवनं तु सन्दिग्धम् । देवदत्तस्य जीवनं प्रायशो गृहसम्बन्ध्येव दृष्टमिति गृहाभावे दृष्टे सांशयिकं जीवनं स्वसंशयापनोदनार्थं बहिर्भावं कल्पयतीति ।

ननु सन्दिग्धेन जीवनेन कथं बहिस्सत्त्वं कल्पयितुं शक्यम् । न हि देवदत्तो जीवति वा मृतो वेति, सन्दिहानः तस्य बहिर्भावं कल्पयेत् । देवदत्तस्य जीवनतदभावौ, संशयगोचरौ । तस्य तु संशयस्य बहिस्सत्त्वकल्पनमात्रेणापनोदो न सम्भवति । सर्वत्र कारणनाशात् अन्यतरकोट्यवधारणाद्वा संशयस्य नाशः भवति । तत्र जीवनस्य प्रायशो गृहसम्बन्धित्वात् इदानीं गृहसम्बन्धित्वविपर्ययः जीवनसंशयं जनयतीति भवता पूर्वमुक्तत्वात् जीवनसंशयं प्रति गृहसम्बन्धित्वविपर्ययो हेतुः स च बहिःसत्त्वे कल्पिते नोच्छिद्यते । प्रत्युत तस्मिन् कल्पिते गृहसम्बन्धित्वाभावरूपः संशयहेतुरेव दृढमवस्थाप्यत इति हेतुविनाशात् संशयनाशः वक्तुमशक्यः । नापि संशयविषययोर्जीवनतदभावयोरन्यतरस्य बहिस्सत्त्वकल्पनया अवधारणं भवति । अन्यद्धि जीवनम् अन्यश्च बहिर्देशसम्बन्ध इति । तस्मात् सन्दिग्धं जीवनं प्रकारान्तरेण निश्चित्य पश्चात् बहिस्सत्त्वं कल्पनीयम्, यस्मात् देवदत्तो जीवति गृहे च नास्ति तस्मान्नूनं बहिरवस्थित इति । ततश्च बहिस्सत्त्वनियतं गृहासत्त्वसहितजीवनं निश्चित्य बहिस्सत्त्वं कल्प्यत इत्येवं निश्चितस्यैवार्थापत्तिस्थलेऽपि गमकत्वमिति नानुमानतो वैषम्यमर्थापत्तेरिति चेत्—

अत्र प्रवदन्ति मीमांसकाः—न तावत् गृहासत्त्वमात्रं बहिस्सत्त्वस्य लिङ्गम्, मृतेऽपि सत्त्वेन व्यभिचारात् । नापि जीवनमात्रम् । गृहे सत्त्वदशायामपि जीवनस्य सत्त्वेन व्यभिचारात् । अतो जीवनविशिष्टं गृहासत्त्वं बहिस्सत्त्वे लिङ्गमिति वक्तव्यम्, देवदत्तो बहिरस्ति जीवित्वे सति गृहासत्त्वात् इति । अनुमानस्थले प्रथमतो लिङ्गावगमः पश्चात् साध्यावगम इति क्रमः, न तु लिङ्गावगमसमय एव साध्यावगम इति । अनुमानस्थले

लिङ्गज्ञानं साध्यविषयकं न भवतीति यावत्। प्रकृतस्थले तु लिङ्गावगमसमय एव साध्यावगम इति नानुमानेन गतार्थता। तथा हि– बहिस्सत्त्वमविज्ञाय गृहासत्त्वं जीवनं च समुच्चित्य ज्ञातुं न शक्यते। जीवनं हि सप्राणतया सत्त्वम्। तच्च देशाभावेऽसम्भवात् यत्र क्वचित् सत्त्वरूपम्। तत्र क्वचित् इत्यनेन गृहेऽभावेन सह गृहे सत्त्वरूपस्य क्वचित्सत्त्वस्य विरोध इति क्वचित्सत्त्वं बहिस्सत्त्वरूपमेवैष्टव्यम्। तथा च गृहासत्त्वसहितजीवनज्ञानं गृहासत्त्वसहितबहिस्सत्त्वज्ञानरूपमिति हेतुज्ञानमेव बहिस्सत्त्वरूपसाध्यविषयकमपीति बहिस्सत्त्वज्ञानं न लिङ्गज्ञानजन्यमिति नात्रानुमानस्य प्रसक्तिः। सर्वमिदमभिसन्धायोक्तं वार्तिककारपादैः–[६]

'विद्यमानत्वसंसृष्टगेहाभावधियानया।
गेहादुत्कालिता सत्ता बहिरेवावतिष्ठते ॥' इति।

नन्वर्थापत्तेः प्रमाणान्तरत्वेऽपि पूर्वोक्तरीत्या जीवनमात्रस्य गृहासत्त्वमात्रस्य वा गमकत्वाभावात् समुचितमुभयं गमकमित्यङ्गीकरणीयम्। संसृष्टबुद्ध्यैव च बहिस्सत्त्वस्यापि ज्ञातत्वात् न पश्चात् ज्ञातव्यं प्रमेयमवशिष्यत इति समानो दोष इति चेत्–

न। येयं गृहासत्त्वजीवनयोः संसृष्टतया बुद्धिः सैवार्थापत्तिप्रमा। तस्याः करणं तु गृहाभावजीवनयोः परस्परविरोधज्ञानम्। यथा वा केनचित् नद्यास्तीरे फलानि सन्तीत्युक्ते परेण च न सन्तीत्युक्ते श्रोता मिथोविरुद्धमुभयं बुध्यते, बलाबलापरिज्ञानात् अन्यतरदपि त्यक्तुं ग्रहीतुं वा न शक्नोति; एवमत्रापि गृहे वा बहिर्वा अवस्थितो देवदत्त इति ज्योतिश्शास्त्रादिना प्रमाणेन निश्चितम्। अनुपलब्धिप्रमाणेन च गृहे नास्तीति प्रमितम्। एवं मिथोविरुद्धतया ज्ञानमर्थापत्तिप्रमाणम्। स च विरोधः अर्थान्तरकल्पनया समाधेयत्वेनालोच्यमानः भवति। ततः विरोधसमाधानायार्थान्तरकल्पनमर्थापत्तिप्रमा। नात्रानुमानगन्धोऽस्ति।

एतदुक्तं भवति–द्वयोः प्रमाणयो : सम्भवद्विरोधज्ञानमर्थापत्तिप्रमाणम्। प्रमाणद्वयस्याविरोधग्रहणमर्थापत्तिप्रमितिरिति।

नैयायिकमतम्

एतावता अर्थापत्तिप्रमाणविषये मीमांसकानां मतमालोचितम्। अथ नैयायिकानां मतमुपन्यस्यते। शब्दपूर्विकामभावपूर्विकां चार्थापत्तिं विहायान्याश्चतस्रोऽर्थापत्तयः शक्त्याख्यपदार्थविशेषसाधनार्थमुपकल्पिताः शक्तेः पदार्थत्वाभावात् अनावश्यिक्य इति **जयन्तभट्टैर्न्यायमञ्जर्यां** विस्तरेण न्यरूपीति स विषयो नात्र विस्तार्यते। शब्दपूर्वकाभावपूर्वकार्थापत्ती तु अन्वयव्यतिरेक्यनुमाने वा केवलव्यतिरेक्यनुमाने वान्तर्भवत इति न पृथक्प्रमाणभावमश्नुवाते इति **कुसुमाञ्जलावुदयनाचार्याः** न्यरूपयन्। तथा हि–[७]

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६. **श्लोकवार्तिकम्** पृष्ठ ३६२

७. **न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलिः**, तृतीयस्तबकः पृष्ठ २२४–२२५ वीरराघवाचार्यप्रकाशनम्

जीवतो देवदत्तस्य गृहेऽभावः बहिरसद्भावेऽनुपपन्नः सन् तस्य बहिस्सद्भावं कल्पयतीत्यर्थापत्तेरुदाहरणमाहुर्मीमांसकाः। तत्राव्याप्यस्यानुपपन्नता न भवति। अव्यापकश्चोपपादको न भवति। व्याप्यमेव व्यापकं विना नोपपद्यते। अव्याप्यस्य अव्यापकं विना अनुपपत्तिस्वीकारे गर्दभं विना धूमोऽनुपपन्न इत्यपि स्यात्। तथा च जीवतो देवदत्तस्य गृहाभावसम्बन्धः बहिस्सत्त्वं विना अनुपपन्न इति वदता गृहाभावसम्बन्धः व्याप्यः बहिस्सत्त्वं व्यापकम् इत्युक्तं भवति। विना न भवतीत्यनेन तदभाववदवृत्तित्वरूप व्याप्तेरेव निर्देशात्। तथा च व्याप्यात् व्यापकज्ञानरूपा अर्थापत्तिप्रमितिरनुमितिरूपैव न ततो विलक्षणा।

नन्वर्थापत्तिस्थले अविनाभावरूपां व्याप्तिं न वयमपजानीमहे, किं तु तज्ज्ञानम्। अनुमाने त्वविनाभावज्ञानमावश्यकमिति विशेष इति चेत्— अर्थापत्तौ तावत् अनुपपत्तिज्ञानमावश्यकम्। अन्यथा यत्र वस्तुगत्या अनुपपत्तिरस्ति, तज्ज्ञानं तु नास्ति तत्राप्यर्थप्रमा प्रसज्येत। अपि चार्थापत्त्याभास एव न स्यात्। अनुपपत्त्यभावस्थलेऽप्यनुपपत्तिभ्रमेण किंचित्कल्पनं ह्यर्थापत्त्याभासः। अनुपपत्तेः स्वरूपसत्याः कारणत्वे च आभासस्थलेऽनुपपत्तेरसत्त्वात् कथं तत्कार्यभूतभ्रमात्मककल्पनस्यावकाशः? तथा चानुपपत्तिज्ञानस्यावश्यकत्वात् तदेव ज्ञानमविनाभावरूपव्याप्तिज्ञानमिति नानुमानतो वैलक्षण्यमीक्ष्यते। तथापि दृष्टान्ताभावात् कथं व्याप्तिगृह्यतामिति चेत्—श्रूयताम्। एकैकस्यापि पुरुषस्य स्वात्मविषये एकत्र देशे सत्त्वेऽन्यत्रासत्त्वस्य, अन्यत्र सत्त्वेऽत्रासत्त्वस्य च प्रत्यक्षसिद्धत्वात् तद्दृष्टान्तेन व्याप्तिः सुग्रहैव। तथा चेत्थमनुमानप्रयोगः देवदत्तः बहिरस्ति जीवत्वे सति गृहेऽसत्त्वात्, यः जीवन् सन् गृहे नास्ति स बहिरस्ति यथाहम् इति।

यत्तु भावाभावग्राहकयोः प्रमाणयोः प्रतीयमानो विरोधः अर्थापत्तिविधया अविरोधमुपपादयति इति। तत्रापि सत्त्वासत्त्वप्रमयोर्विभिन्नदेशनिरूपितत्वविषयकत्वव्याप्तिमवलम्ब्य विरोधोपपादनं कार्यमिति व्याप्तिमूलकत्वादनुमानमेवेति **कुसुमाञ्जलौ** सविस्तरमुपापादि। अन्यथा धूमोऽप्यर्थापत्तिविधयैव वह्निं गमयेत् इत्यपि दूषणं तत्रोक्तम्।

अत्रेदं विवेचनीयम्। शास्त्रदीपिकायाम्[८]— भवत्वर्थापत्तिः प्रमाणम्, अनुमानं त्वर्थापत्तावेवान्तर्भवति! तथा हि यत्र यत्र धूमस्तत्र तत्राग्निरित्यवगतम्। पर्वतस्य च धूमवत्तावगता। यदि पर्वतेऽग्निर्न स्यात् तदा धूमवत्ता वा मिथ्या स्यात् सर्वधूमवतामग्निमत्त्वं वा मिथ्या स्यात्! तदुभयस्यामिथ्यात्वार्थमग्निमत्त्वं कल्प्यत इत्यर्थापत्तिरेषा इत्याशङ्क्य स्यादेतदेवं यदि सर्वधूमवतामग्निमत्त्वमनुमानादन्येनावगतं

८. शास्त्रदीपिका पृष्ठ ७९, निर्णयसागर प्रेस

स्यात् । न त्वेवमस्ति ! दृष्टान्तधर्मिष्वेव हि धूमस्याग्निनियमोऽवगतो न सर्वत्र । अनुमानात्तु सर्वधूमवतामग्निमत्त्वावगतिः । अनुमानप्रयोगस्तु अन्येऽप्यतीतानागतव्यवहितविप्रकृष्टाः सर्व एव धूमवतोऽग्निमन्तः धूमवत्त्वात् परिदृश्यमानमहानसादिवदिति ! न हि दृष्टान्तेष्वेवावगतस्याग्निनियमस्य सर्वधूमवतामग्निमत्तां विना कश्चिद्विरोधोऽस्ति, येनार्थापत्तिः स्यात् । तस्मात् परस्परसङ्कीर्णविषयसद्भावादनुमानमपि प्रमाणान्तरमर्थापत्तिरपि ! सिद्धे च द्वयोः प्रामाण्ये पर्वतादिषु धूमदर्शनात् यदग्निविज्ञानं तत् द्वेधापि सम्भवति दृष्टान्तदृष्टव्याप्तिस्मरणाद्वानुमानम्, विरोधपर्यालोचनया वा अर्थापत्तिः इति समाधानमुक्तम् । तथा च व्याप्तिस्मरणपूर्वकार्थप्रतीतिस्थले अनुमानम्, प्रमाणद्वयविरोधपर्यालोचनस्थलेऽर्थापत्तिरिति व्यवस्थालाभात् कथं नैयायिकमतं समीचीनमिति ।

अत्रोच्यते । प्रतिघातालोचनया अर्थकल्पनस्थलेऽपि निरवकाशविरोधिविशेषसन्निधौ गेहे देवदत्तस्याभावप्रत्यक्षसन्निधौ क्वचिदस्तीति सावकाशं सामान्यं सङ्कोचितव्यमिति व्याप्तिमालोच्यैव हि बहिरस्तीत्यर्थकल्पनं भवति । तथा च व्याप्तिज्ञानपूर्वकत्वस्यावर्जनीयत्वात् अनुमानान्नातिरिच्यतेऽर्थापत्तिः इति नैयायिकानामाशयः । इति ।

अर्थापत्तिविभागः

अर्थापत्तेः दृष्टार्थापत्तिः श्रुतार्थापत्तिश्चेति द्वेधा विभागः वेदान्तपरिभाषादिषु ग्रन्थेषु दृश्यते । मीमांसामूलग्रन्थेषु एतादृशो विभागः स्पष्टं नोपलभ्यते । अथापि 'दृष्टः श्रुतो वा' इति शाबरभाष्यस्वारस्यात्, शब्दपूर्वकार्थापत्तेरितरप्रमाणमूलकार्थापत्त्यपेक्षया वैलक्षण्यस्य वार्तिके प्रतिपादितत्वाच्च दृष्टार्थापत्तिः श्रुतार्थापत्तिरिति विभागोऽपि मूलग्रन्थसंमत इत्यालोच्य परिभाषादौ तथा विभागकरणमिति प्रतीयते ।

श्रुतार्थापत्तिरित्थं निरूपिता पार्थसारथिमिश्रैः[१]—लोके द्वारमित्यादिषु वाक्यैकदेशेषु श्रुतेषु सम्पूर्णवाक्यार्थप्रतिपत्तेः 'पिधीयताम्' इति वाक्यैकदेशं विनानुपपत्तेः पिधीयतामिति शब्दस्य द्वारमित्यनेन श्रुतेन शब्देनैकवाक्यतया कल्पनं श्रुतार्थापत्तिः । एवं वेदे 'विश्वजिता यजेत' इत्यत्र स्वर्गार्थम् इति वा स्वर्गकाम इति वा शब्दं परिकल्प्य तस्य श्रुतेन वाक्येन मेलनात् परिपूर्णवाक्यार्थप्रतिपत्तिर्भवतीत्याहुः । परिभाषायां तु अभिधानानुपपत्तिः अभिहितानुपपत्तिश्चेति श्रुतार्थापत्तिर्द्विविधा । यत्र वाक्यैकदेशश्रवणे अन्वयाभिधानानुपपत्त्याअन्वयाभिधानोपयोगि पदान्तरं कल्प्यते तत्र अभिधानानुपपत्तिः, यथा द्वारमित्यत्र पिधेहीत्यध्याहारः, विश्वजिता यजेतेत्यत्र स्वर्गकामपदाध्याहारः । यत्र वाक्यावगतोऽर्थः अनुपपन्नत्वेन ज्ञातः सन् अर्थान्तरं कल्पयति तत्राभिहितानुपपत्तिः, यथा 'ज्योतिष्टोमेन

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१ शास्त्रदीपिका पृष्ठ ८०, निर्णय सागर प्रेस

स्वर्गकामो यजेत' इत्यत्र क्षणिकयागगततया श्रुतस्य स्वर्गसाधनत्वस्यानुपपत्त्या मध्यवर्त्यपूर्वकल्पनमिति न्यरूपि ।

परं तु अभिहितानुपपत्तिरिति विभागः वार्तिककारस्य शास्त्रदीपिकाकारस्य चासंमतः । यतोऽर्थकल्पनं दृष्टार्थापत्तौ, शब्दकल्पनं तु श्रुतार्थापत्ताविति स्पष्टं वैलक्षण्यं वार्तिके प्रत्यपादि । अतः 'अपूर्वद्वारा' इति शब्दकल्पनद्वारैवार्थप्रतीतिः अभिहितानुपपत्तिस्थलेऽपि । अत एव युक्तिस्नेहप्रपूरण्याम्[१०]

"श्रुतार्थानुपपत्त्या हि सविकल्पकं विज्ञानमुत्पद्यते । तच्च शब्दानुवेधेनार्थं विषयीकरोतीति शब्दः पूर्वं प्रतीयते । ततश्च प्रथमावगतेन शब्देनैवानुपपत्तिपरिक्षयात् नार्थं यावत् अर्थापत्तिर्गच्छति । प्रतिपन्नैस्तु शब्दैरर्थावगतिः ॥"

इति प्रोक्तम् ।

अर्थापत्तिविषये दीधितिकाराशयः

केवलान्वयिग्रन्थे दीधितिकारैस्तु[११]—"साध्याभाववदवृत्तित्वमेव व्याप्तिर्लाघवात्, इत्यारभ्य, व्यापकताघटितव्याप्तिज्ञानस्यानुमितिहेतुतां विस्तरेण दूषयित्वा, साध्याभावव्यापकाभावप्रतियोगित्वरूपव्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञानमपि, नानुमिति हेतुरित्युपपाद्य, व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिग्रहाधीना च धीर्नानुमितिः तत्त्वेनाननुभवात्, किं तु विजातीया, तत्करणमपि प्रमाणमर्थापत्तिरेव ।" इति अर्थापत्तेः पृथक्प्रामाण्यं स्थापितम् ।

तद्व्याख्याने गदाधरभट्टाचार्यैरपि[१२]—'अननुभवादिति । अर्थापयामीत्यनुव्यवसायस्यैव तत्रोत्पत्तेरिति भावः । विजातीयेति । अनुमितित्वविरुद्धजातिमतीत्यर्थः । अनुमिनोमीत्यनुव्यवसायात् प्रत्यक्षविजातीयानुमितिवत् शाब्दयामीत्यादिप्रतीतिबलात् शब्दाख्यप्रमित्यन्तरवच्च अर्थापयामीत्यनुव्यवसायबलादपि विजातीयप्रमासिद्धेर्दुर्वारत्वात्" इत्युक्तम् ।

वस्तुतस्तु महर्षिणा गोतमेन चतुर्णामेव प्रमाणानां निर्देशात् अर्थापत्तेः प्रमाणान्तरत्वनिषेधाच्च अर्थापत्तेः पृथक्प्रामाण्यं नैयायिकानामपसिद्धान्तः । अनुव्यवसायस्तु सविवादः । दीधितिकारास्तु स्वातन्त्र्येण न्यायवैशेषिकदर्शनयोः बहुषु पदार्थेषु न्यूनाधिक्यादिकं कृतवन्तः । यथास्थितं मतान्यत्र समगृह्णाम् । विवेचकाः विद्वांसो निर्णायका इति शम् ।

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१०. शास्त्रदीपिकाव्याख्या युक्तिस्नेहप्रपूरणी पृ० ८१ निर्णय सागर प्रेस,
११. केवलान्वयिप्रकरणम् पृष्ठ १३६१–१३८०
१२. तदेव पृ० १३८२

कमलाकरभट्टस्य सूक्ष्मावेक्षणम्

देवचन्द्रझाः

मुजफ्फरपुर

The great गोलमर्मविद् Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa—the author of the सिद्धान्ततत्त्वविवेक—has mercilessly dissected the theories of his contemporary Munīśvara. His fury did not spare even latter's teacher Bhāskarācārya—the author of the सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि. In this article the author has attempted to throw light on the critical and minute observation-power of Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa.

समस्तज्योतिषसिद्धान्तमर्मोद्भेदकः कमलाकरभट्टः भास्कराचार्यतोऽर्वाचीनो मुनीश्वरस्य समकालिकोऽभूदित्युच्यते। श्रूयते च प्रयागे मुनीश्वरेण सह भास्करप्रतिपादितोदयान्तरकर्मविषये कदाचिद् भट्टस्य विवादः समजनि। ततश्चामर्षापहृतचेता भट्टो न केवलमुदयान्तरकर्मखण्डयदपितु मुनीश्वरमान्यानां भास्कराचार्यवर्याणां मतानि यत्र तत्र बलादपि खण्डितवान्। क्वचिद् दुराग्रहपूर्वकं क्वचिच्च स्वसूक्ष्मावेक्षणमहिम्ना परमतखण्डनप्रवृत्तिमतो भट्टस्य ग्रन्थे यत्र तत्र परमतस्थौल्यप्रतिपादनपुरस्सरं भूयांसस्तादृशाः पूर्वाचार्यास्पृष्टा नूतना नूतनाः प्रकारा दृश्यन्ते यैरेष वस्तुतो भास्करादिप्राचीनाचार्यमतनिरसनक्षमतां स्वसूक्ष्मावेक्षणपटुतां च भृशमुद्घोषयति। निःसंशयमेष अमर्षापहृतचित्ततया शुद्धान्यपि परमतानि यत्र तत्र स्वोक्तिदार्ढ्येन दुराग्रहेण वा खण्डयन् भ्रान्तिमूलकानपि भूयसो विषयान् प्रत्यपीपदत्।

एकमात्रे हि समुपलब्धे भट्टकृतसिद्धान्ततत्त्वविवेके मुनीश्वरलल्लब्रह्मगुप्तश्रीपतिभास्करप्रभृतिभि विरचितेषु **सिद्धान्तसार्वभौम-शिष्यधीवृद्धिदब्राह्मस्फुटसिद्धान्तशेखर-सिद्धान्तशिरोमणिग्रन्थेषु** यत्र तत्र प्रतिपादितानां विषयाणां स्थूलत्वादिदोषोद्घाटनपूर्वकं तत्तत्सूक्ष्मावगमकसरणिमुद्भावयन् कमलाकरभट्टः स्वामितप्रतिभोल्लसिततया गोलमर्मज्ञतया प्रायः समानपि स्वपूर्ववर्त्तिन आचार्यानतिशेते। एतेन प्रतिपादितान् भ्रान्तिमूलकविषयानपि प्रस्तुतसमीक्षानन्तरं **"भट्टभ्रमा"** इति शीर्षके लेखे प्रकाशयितुमर्हमीहे, किन्त्वेदानीं भट्टस्य सूक्ष्माऽवेक्षणक्षमतैव विवेचनीयास्ति।

तथा हि— "तद्गुणे भुजकोटिज्ये भगणांशविभाजिते
तद् भुजज्याफलधनुर्मान्दं लिप्तादिकं फलम्"

इति सौरमतानुरूपमेव भास्कराचार्येणापि स्वसिद्धान्तशिरोमणौ––"मृदुदोः फलस्य चापं बुधा मन्दफलं वदन्तीति प्रत्यपादि ।

ग्रहगोलकेन्द्रतो मन्दान्त्यफलज्याग्रस्थान्मन्दगोलकेन्द्रात् त्रिज्याव्यासार्धेन कृतं वृत्तं मन्दप्रतिवृत्तं यत्र च मध्यग्रहो भ्रमति । गोलद्वयकेन्द्रगसूत्रमेववर्धितं सत्तत्तद्गोलीय-प्रतिवृत्ते यत्र यत्र लग्नं तत्र तत्रोच्चस्थानम् । मध्यग्रहश्च मन्दप्रतिवृत्ते उच्चतोऽग्रे पृष्ठतो वाऽस्तीति कल्पिते "मृदूच्चेन हीनो ग्रहो मन्दकेन्द्रमित्युक्तेरुच्चग्रहान्तरं मन्द-केन्द्रम् । ग्रहगोलकेन्द्रान्मध्यग्रहगतं सूत्रं मन्दकर्णः मध्यग्रहबिन्दोरुच्चरेखा समान्तरा रेखा शीघ्रप्रतिवृत्ते यत्र लगे तत्रैव प्रतिवृत्तीयोमध्यग्रहः । मन्दकर्णच्छिन्नशीघ्रप्रतिवृत्तीयो बिन्दुर्मन्दस्फुटग्रहः । प्रतिवृत्तीयमध्यमन्दस्फुटयोः शीघ्रप्रतिवृत्तेऽन्तरं मन्दफलम् । तदेवा-नेयम् । ग्रहगोलकेन्द्रतः शीघ्रप्रतिवृत्तीयमध्यग्रहगतसूत्रे मन्दप्रतिवृत्तीयमध्यग्रहात् कृतो लम्बो मन्दभुजफलम् । तच्च त्रिज्यापरिणतमर्थान्मन्दकर्णे यदीदं मान्दभुजफलं तदा त्रिज्याकर्णे किमिति लब्धिर्मन्दफलज्या, तस्याश्च चापं मन्दफलं भवेदिति वस्तुस्थितिः । भास्कराचार्यास्तु मन्दभुजफलमानीय तच्चापमेव मन्दफलमित्याहुः । अर्थादिमे सर्वत्र त्रिज्यासममेव मन्दकर्णममन्यन्त इति त्रुटिः ।

'स्वेनाहते परिधिना भुजको हि जीवे' इत्याद्युक्तभास्करीयं भुजफलं "तद्गुणे भुजकोटिज्ये भगणांशविभाजिते" इति सौरमतानुरूपमेव । अतो या च त्रुटिर्भास्-करोक्तौ सा त्रुटिः सौरोक्तावपि । किञ्च कमलाकरभट्टः **सूर्यसिद्धान्तस्यानन्यभक्तः** । अतः सौरप्रतिपादितविषयाः सर्वथैवैतन्मते वन्दनीयास्तदतिरिक्ताश्च सौरानुक्ततया यथा तथा खण्डनीया इति प्रवृत्तिर्भट्टस्य । तेन **सौरोक्तिसमर्थनाय सौरोक्तपरि**-ध्यंशान् स्फुटानर्थान् एकरूपपरिधीन् त्रिज्यागुणान् कर्णहृतांश्च कृत्वा पठितानमन्यत । "कर्णानुपातजस्पष्टाः परिध्यंशाः पुरा कृताः यथा सूक्ष्मफलार्थं वै तद्वदत्रापि चादृताः" इत्येवं स्वग्रन्थे व्याहरद्भिर्भट्टैः सौरोक्तपरिध्यंशाः कर्णानुपातसिद्धाः सन्तीत्यमानि । एवं सति भट्टमतेन $\frac{\text{प} \times \text{त्रि}}{\text{मंक}}$ = सौरोक्तस्पष्टपरिधिः । अतो मान्द-भुजफलम्

$$\text{सौरोक्तम्} = \frac{\text{भुज्या} \times \text{स्पप}}{३६०}$$

$$= \frac{\text{भुज्या} \times \text{प} \times \text{त्रि}}{३६० \times \text{मंक}} = \frac{\text{भुज्या} \times \text{अंकज्या} \times \text{त्रि}}{\text{त्रि} \times \text{मंक}}$$

$$\frac{\text{मां भुजफ} \times \text{त्रि}}{\text{मंक}} = \text{मन्दफलम्} ।$$

मन्दफलमत: सौरोक्तभुजफलचापसमम् । भास्कराद्यैस्तु स्पष्टाः परिध्यंशा न कृताश्चेति मन्दकर्णानुपातविरहाद् भास्करकथनमसत् । वस्तुतस्तु कर्णानुपातविरहसिद्धं मन्दफलमर्थाद्भुजफलं नैव वास्तवं मन्दफलमितिभट्टकथनं नैवानुपयुक्तम्, प्रत्युत सूक्ष्मावेक्षणद्योतकम् । **सौरोक्त**मण्डनाय परिध्यंशान् त्रिज्यागुणान् मन्दकर्णविभक्तान् कृत्वा स्पष्टपरिधित्वेन पठितान् मन्यमानो भट्टो मन्दकर्णानां प्रतिक्षणं विलक्षणतया तत्सापेक्षाणां स्पष्टपरिध्यंशानां कथं पाठार्हत्वमित्यपि विवेचनीयमेव ।

अथैवं दिग्ज्ञानप्रसङ्गे– जलेन सुसमीकृते मध्याह्नकालिकच्छायाधिकव्यासार्धवति वृत्ते केन्द्रस्थशङ्कोः छायाप्रवेशनिर्गमाभ्यां प्रतीचीप्राचीदिशोः साधारणतो जातेऽपिज्ञाने पूर्वापरविन्दुज्ञानाय प्रवेशनिर्गमकालिकयोश्छायाग्रीयभुजयोर्ज्ञानं ततश्चैन्द्री दिशोऽयनदिशि छायाग्रीयभुजान्तरसमं भुजमार्गे प्रदत्तं सत् प्रवेशदानाग्रविन्दुद्वयबद्धसूत्रं वास्तवपूर्वापर-सूत्रसमानान्तरं, ततश्च वास्तवपूर्वापरसूत्रज्ञानमिति वस्तुस्थितिः ।

छायाप्रवेशनिर्गमकालिकयोरग्रा:, शङ्कुतलसंस्काररूपभुजयोः सति साम्ये त्रिज्यायां यदि रविकेन्द्रविन्दोः पूर्वापरधरातले कृतो लम्बरूपो भुजो लभ्यते तदा छायाकर्णे किमिति छायाग्रविन्दोः पूर्वापरसूत्रे लम्बरूपश्छायाग्रीयोभुजो भवेदित्येवमुभयत्र (प्रवेश-निर्गमकालयोरुभयोरपि) भुजयोः साम्ये छायाग्रीयभुजयोरपिसाम्यम् । अतः प्रवेशनिर्गम-विन्दुगतं पूर्णज्यासूत्रं वास्तवपूर्वापरसूत्रसमानान्तरम् । तदर्धविन्दोस्तत्र विधीयमानो लम्बो याम्योत्तरसूत्रम् । वृत्तकेन्द्रविन्दोश्च याम्योत्तरसूत्रे विहितोलम्बः पूर्वापरसूत्रम् । किञ्च प्रवेशनिर्गमकालिकयोः क्रान्तिवैषम्यमूलकयोरग्रयोर्वैषम्यादग्रीशङ्कुतलसंस्काररूपयोर्भुजयो-र्वैषम्यम् । तेनोभयकालिकयोश्छायाग्रीयभुजयोरपि विषमत्वं स्फुटम् । अतएव छायाग्री-यभुजान्तरं "तत्कालापन्नजीवयोस्तु 'विवरादित्यादिनाऽङ्गुलात्मकमानीय अयनदिशि छाया-ग्रीयभुजमार्गे चालिता प्राची स्फुटा प्राची अर्थात्तद्दानाग्रप्रवेशबिन्दुद्वयगारेखावास्तवपूर्वापर-समान्तरेत्यादिवस्तुस्थितिमुपेक्ष्य भास्कराद्याः कतिपये वृत्तएव तदङ्गुलदानमगादिषुः । एवं च "सौम्या ध्रुवे वा भवेदिति शिरोमणौ प्रतिपादयता भास्करेण ध्रुवावलम्बि-नीमुदीचीं दिशमुपवर्ण्य ध्रुवतारायाः स्थिरता स्वीकृता ।

कमलाकरभट्टास्तुभुजयोर्वशेन तत्कालिके दिगंशमाने समानीय तयोरन्तरं तद्वृत्त-चापे दत्तवन्तः । इत्थमत्र दानाग्रबिन्दुवशात्साधिता वास्तवपूर्वापरसूत्रसमानान्तरा रेखा यथार्थतः समीचीना । तत्पूर्वापरसूत्रज्ञानं च सुलभम् ।

उपरितनं भास्करीयं प्रकारद्वयमपि दोषपूर्णम् । एवमत्रापि कमलाकरीयापद्धतिः तदीयसूक्ष्मावेक्षणद्योतिका ।

एवञ्च भूभासाधनप्रसङ्गे भास्करमुनीश्वराभ्यां साधितां भूभां वस्तुतश्चन्द्रकक्षा-बहिर्गतां कार्यानर्हां च समीक्ष्य कमलाकरभट्टः चन्द्रकक्षागतां भूभां सविशेषां व्याहरत् । तथा हि ––

भुवो भा भूभेति व्युत्पत्त्या भूरविविम्बयोः क्रमस्पर्शरेखाभिर्जायमानं सूची-क्षेत्रं सूर्यबिम्बतो भूबिम्बस्याल्पतया भूविम्बाभिमुखं चन्द्रकक्षातोऽधिकं च भवतीति

गणितसिद्धम् । एवं निष्पन्ना भूछाया सदैव सूर्यतः षड्भान्तरिता । पूर्णान्ते सूर्याचन्द्रमसोरपि षड्भान्तरितत्वात् भूभाचन्द्रमसोर्युतिसम्भवः । तेन पूर्णान्त एव चन्द्रग्रहणम् । सर्वस्मिंश्च पूर्णान्ते भूभाचन्द्रबिम्बस्थानयोः सत्यपि समत्वे स्थानतश्चन्द्रबिम्बस्य शराग्रे संस्थितेः मानैक्यार्धिके चन्द्रशरे नैवग्रहणसम्भवः । एवञ्च सतिग्रहणसम्भवे मानैक्यार्धतोऽल्पेचन्द्रशरेभूभासाधनप्रसङ्गे भास्करेण भूभामध्यसूत्रच्छिन्नचन्द्रकक्षास्थबिन्दोः सूचीकर्णे विहितस्य लम्बस्य मानमेव चन्द्रकक्षान्तर्गतभूभाबिम्बस्य व्यासार्धं स्वीकृतम् । ज्ञानराजेनापि तथैवानुकृतम् । मुनीश्वरेण साधिता चन्द्रकक्षास्पर्शकारिणीभूभाऽपि नहि चन्द्रकक्षान्तर्गता । मुनीश्वरीया भूभा कुत्रगता कियन्मिता कीदृशी चेति वक्तुमप्यशक्यम् । अतः कमलाकरभट्टेन स्वीये **सिद्धान्ततत्त्वविवेके**—"पूर्णज्याभिर्ये वदन्त्यल्पबुद्ध्या जात्यक्षेत्रं तन्मतं मन्मतं नो" अपि च "अयुक्तां कुभामाद्यरीत्या हि दृष्ट्वा कृता रङ्गनाथस्य पुत्रेण सूक्ष्मे" त्येवं खण्डयता "इनावनीव्यासवियोगनिघ्नमित्यादिसाधिता चन्द्रकक्षास्थभूभा कमलाकरपाण्डित्यप्रकाशकरी । चन्द्रकक्षाधःस्थया च यया भूभया प्रथमं चन्द्रस्पर्शस्तत्साधनं च कृतं भट्टेन । तदनु संशोधकविशेषाभ्यां—वापूदेवशास्त्रिसुधाकरद्विवेदिभ्यामपि चन्द्रकक्षास्थभूभासाधनं कृतमित्युपलभ्यते । किञ्च "स तु तत्र विशेषदुर्लभः सदुपन्यस्यति कृत्यवर्त्म यः" इति प्रशंसनीयः कमलाकरभट्ट एव । एवमत्र सविशेषभूभासाधनप्रसङ्गे कमलाकरभट्टस्य सूक्ष्मावेक्षणं सर्वथैवोपलक्ष्यते ।

एवमधिसमस्तग्रन्थं लल्लभास्करमुनीश्वरज्ञानराजादीनां मतानि यत्र तत्र सदोषाणि व्यावर्ण्य स्वप्रखरतरप्रतिभया समुद्भूतानां प्रकाराणां विनिवेशाद् वस्तुतः समानपि स्वपूर्ववर्त्तिन आचार्यानतिशेते कमलाकरभट्टः । एतदीयो दृश्यांशविचारः, **शृङ्गोन्नतौ** "स्यात्तुङ्गशृङ्गं वलनान्यदिवस्थम्" शृङ्गे समे स्तो यदि वाह्वभाव ऊर्ध्वाधरे स्तो यदि कोट्यभाव" इत्यादिभास्करोक्तिव्यभिचारप्रदर्शनपुरस्सरं वास्तवशुक्लदृश्यवृत्तनिरूपणं, बिम्बान्तरसूत्रसाधनं, खस्थानां बिम्बानामर्धाल्प एव भागो दृश्यश्चेत्यादिकथनं, सिताङ्गुलानयनातिरिक्ता अन्ये च शृङ्गोन्नतिविषयिणः प्रपञ्चाः, आयनाक्षवलनयोः साधनं विनैव स्पष्टवलनसाधनमित्येवमासमस्तग्रन्थं नूतननूतनानेककल्पनाकुशलधुरीणतया दुर्वचनप्रयोगाभ्यासशीलोऽपि भट्टो गोलमर्मविदां मनसि कुशाग्रमतिमतामग्रणीत्वमेव भजते । निःसंशयमयं बहुत्र बलाद्दुराग्रहतया च भास्करादिप्राचीनाचार्यमतं सदार्ढ्यं निरस्य दुर्वचांस्यपि प्रायुङ्क्त । किञ्चैतदीयं दूषणमपि तदनल्पकल्पनाकौशलावलोकनात् पण्डितराजस्य जगन्नाथस्य गर्वोक्तिरिव क्षम्यमिवाभाति ।

एतदीया भ्रान्तयः दुराग्रहा वा पुनरग्रिमलेखे मदीये प्रकाशिता भविष्यन्तीति तावद् विरमामि ।

ध्वनिसम्प्रदाय-पारम्पर्य-पर्यालोचनम्

डा० वैद्यनाथ झा :

मुजफ्फरपुर

Much before Ānandavardhanācārya the theory of *dhvani* was prevalent though not in the form of a treatise but in the form of a tradition, from the mouth of teacher to his pupil. Ānandavardhanācārya was the first to present systematically the theory of *dhvani* in his *Kārikās*. In this way, he is rightly called the *dhvanikāra*.

ध्वनिसम्प्रदायः साहित्यशास्त्रे चिरन्तनकालादेव समागच्छति । आनन्दवर्धनाचार्यात् पूर्वमेव ध्वनिसिद्धान्तस्य समभवत् पर्याप्तं पर्यालोचनमिति ध्वन्यालोकस्य प्रथम-पद्य-परिशीलनेन पर्यवसीयते । तथा हि—

"काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति बुधैर्यः समाम्नातपूर्वः ।"[१]

इति प्रथमपद्येन व्यक्तमिदमुक्तं भवति यत्—'काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरस्ति' इति सिद्धान्तप्रतिपादनं चिरन्तनकाल एवाविच्छिन्नरूपेण काव्यतत्त्वविद्भिर्विहितमिति ।

तदेतद् विवृणोति वृत्तिकारः—

"बुधैः काव्यतत्त्वविद्भिः काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति संज्ञितः परम्परया यः समाम्नातपूर्वः, सम्यक् आ समन्तात् म्नातः प्रकटितः[२] ।" इति

इह 'समाम्नातपूर्व' इत्यत्र 'पूर्व' पदेनेदमवगम्यते यद् ध्वनिसिद्धान्तस्योद्भावनम् आनन्दवर्धनाचार्यात् पूर्वमेव विहितमाचार्यवर्यैः, अतो नानन्दवर्धनो ध्वनिसिद्धान्तस्याद्यप्रवर्तक इति ।

एवम् 'समाम्नात' शब्दप्रयोगेणापि ध्वनिसिद्धान्तस्य प्राचीनता द्योत्यते । समाम्नातशब्दो हि निगमप्ररूढानादिपारम्परिकप्रसिद्धेः सूचयिता विद्यते । प्रतिपाद्यविषयस्य प्रचुरां प्राचीनतामभिव्यञ्जयितुमेवायं प्रयुज्यते तत्र भवद्भिराचार्यैः ।

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१. ध्वन्यालोकः 'बालप्रिया' टीकासहितः, पृ० ६

२. ध्वन्यालोकः, 'तारावती' टीकासहितः, पृ० १८

एतदाशयेनैव महर्षिणा यास्केनापि स्वनिरुक्ते—"समाम्नायः समाम्नातः, स व्याख्यातव्यः[३] ।" इति समाम्नातशब्दः प्रयुक्तः ।

'समाम्नातपूर्व' 'इत्यत्र समाम्नात' शब्दश्च सम् आ-इत्युपसर्गद्वयपूर्वाद् 'म्ना' धातोः क्त प्रत्यये निष्पद्यते। अत्र 'क्त' प्रत्ययेन समाम्नानस्य पूर्वकालिकत्वे लब्धेऽपि पुनः पूर्वपदोपादानेन पूर्वत्वेऽतिशयो बोधितो भवति। तावता च ध्वनिसम्प्रदायस्यानादिता सिद्धयति । एवम् 'आ' इत्युपसर्गाद् आम्नानस्य प्रसिद्धौ बोधितायामपि पुनः 'सम्' इत्युपसर्गोपादानम् आम्नातप्रसिद्धावतिशयं व्यनक्ति ।

मूले बुधैरिति बहुवचनेनापि ध्वनिव्यवहारस्यानादित्वं सिद्धयति । तथा हि—अनेकैः किल विद्वद्भिः ध्वनितत्त्वमुपपाद्यमानमागच्छति, अत एव ध्वनिव्यवहारस्यानादित्वे (काव्यशास्त्रप्रमुखसिद्धान्ततयाऽङ्गीकारे च) न काचन शङ्का । यद्यपि आनन्दवर्धनाचार्यात् पूर्वतनालङ्कारग्रन्थेषु ध्वनिः काव्यस्यात्मास्ति इत्येवमुल्लेखो नावलोक्यते, तथापि विद्वन्निवहैरविच्छिन्नधारया समादरपूर्वकं विहितं ध्वनिविवरणमिति तु निश्चप्रचम् । तदेतदभिनवगुप्तेन व्यक्तमेवोक्तम्—

"न च बुधा भूयांसोऽनादरणीयं वस्त्वादरेणोपदिशेयुः एतत्तु आदरेणोपदिष्टम् ।"[४] इति ।

तदेतद् ध्वनिव्यवहारस्यानादित्वं माणिक्यचन्द्रेणापि काव्यप्रकाशसंकेते व्यक्तमेवोक्तम् "बुधैरिति बहुवचनेन ध्वनिव्यवहारस्यानादित्वं सूच्यते ।"[५] इति ।

स्फुटीभवति चेयमेव चिरन्तनकालतो ध्वनिसिद्धान्तप्रसिद्धिः—

"योऽर्थः सहृदयश्लाघ्यः काव्यात्मेति व्यवस्थितः ।
वाच्यप्रतीयमानाख्यौ तस्य भेदावुभौ स्मृतौ ॥[६]

इति कारिकायामपि ।

अत्र हि 'स्मृतौ' इति शब्देनेदमवगम्यते यद् मन्वादयः स्मृतयो यथा चिरकालादेव प्रसिद्धाः समैः समाद्रियन्ते च, तथैव इमावपि वाच्य-प्रतीयमाननामकौ भेदौ प्रसिद्धौ, नूनमङ्गीकृतौ च चिरन्तनाऽऽचार्यैरिति ।

ननु यद्येवं ध्वनिसिद्धान्तश्चिरन्तनचार्यैः आनन्दवर्धनाचार्यात् पूर्वमेवोपदिष्टः, कथं तर्हि आनन्दवर्धन एव पुनरात्मनो ध्वनितत्त्वस्याऽऽद्यवेत्तृत्वमुपवर्णयति—

इति काव्यार्थविवेको योऽयं चेतश्चमत्कृतिविधायी ।
सूरिभिरनुसृतसारैरस्मदुपज्ञो न विस्मार्यः । "[७]

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३. यास्क, निरुक्ते, पृ० १९ (पूना सं०) ।

४. ध्वन्या० बालप्रि०, पृ० १२

५. काव्यप्र० संकेत टी०, पृ० ८

६. ध्वन्या० बालप्रि० कारिका २ ।

७. ध्वन्या० दीधि०, पृ० १०८

इत्यत्र ? कथं च लोचनकारा अपि—'आनन्दवर्धनात् पूर्वं ध्वनिविषयकमेकमपि पुस्तकं नासीत् प्रणीतमि' ति प्रतिपादयन्ति[८] इति चेत्, उच्यते—

ध्वन्यालोकस्य बहुषु संस्करणेषु अनुपलम्भात् श्लोकोऽयं प्रक्षिप्त इति मनुते म० म० काणे महाशयः। ध्वन्यालोकवृत्ति-कारिकाकृतोरैक्यमङ्गीकुर्वद्भिः कैश्चन विद्वद्भिः ग्रन्थे निवेशितः श्लोकोऽयमिति भृशं संभाव्यते[९]। यदि च न प्रक्षिप्त इत्यागृह्यते, तदेदं श्रूयताम्—

दण्डि-भामहो-द्भटप्रभृतिभिरालङ्कारिकप्रवरैः पल्लवितोऽप्यलङ्कारसम्प्रदायः, आनन्दवर्धना-भिनवगुप्त-मम्मटभट्ट-विश्वनाथ-पण्डितराजजगन्नाथादिभिः विहिते ध्वनि-सम्प्रदायस्य प्रचुरे प्रचारे यथा शैथिल्यमाकलयत्, तथैव पूर्वं प्रसिद्धिमुपगतोऽपि ध्वनि-संप्र दायः दण्डि-भामहो-द्भटाद्यलङ्कारसम्प्रदायाऽऽचार्यसमये भृशं कृशिमानमागतःततश्चा-नन्दवर्धनाचार्येण स्वगम्भीरकारिका-कदम्बेन मौलिकव्याख्यानेन च बद्धमूलं पुनरवस्थापित इति[१०] ध्वनेर्विशदविवेचनविधायकत्वाद् तत्रभवानानन्दवर्धनश्चेद् ध्वनिकाव्यार्थविवेकं स्वोपज्ञं ज्ञापयति तन्न किञ्चिदनुचितम्।

इदमिहावधेयम्—

आनन्दवर्धनाचार्यात् पूर्वत एव ध्वनिसम्प्रदायो विद्वन्निवहपरम्परया निरवच्छिन्न-प्रवाहः समागच्छति स्म। क्वचनापि पुस्तके ध्वनिसिद्धान्तस्य नासीदुपवर्णनम् किन्तु आनन्द-वर्धनेन तस्य कारिकारूपेणकृतमुपनिबन्धनम्। आनन्दवर्धनसमये यो ध्वनिविरोधिसम्प्रदायः समासीत्, तत्र केवलं मनोरथकवेरेकं पद्यं खद्योतायते स्म। आनन्दवर्धनाचार्यश्च ध्वनि-सम्प्रदायमाबद्धमूलं व्यवस्थापयितुं ताः स्वकीयध्वनिकारिकाः शिष्याननेकानध्यापयामास। गुरुभक्तिप्रवणाः शिष्याश्च तद्व्याख्यानं सुविशदीकृत्य कारिकाभिः सह गुरुनाम्नैव वृत्त्या-ख्यया संयोज्य पुस्तकरूपेणोपस्थापयामासुः। अतएव आनन्दवर्धनाचार्य एव कारिका-वृत्त्यात्म-कस्य समस्तपुस्तकस्य प्रणेता वर्ण्यते। तदेतत्—

" तद् व्याकरोत् सहृदयोदयलाभहेतो-
रानन्दवर्धन इति प्रथिताभिधानः ॥[११]

इति ध्वन्यालोकावसानवृत्तिग्रन्थेन,

"आनन्दवर्धन-विवेक-विकासि-काव्या-
लोकार्थतत्त्वघटनादनुमेयसारम्[१२]

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८. "अविच्छिन्नेन प्रवाहेण तैरेतदुक्तं विनापि विशिष्टपुस्तकेषु विनिवेशनादित्यभि-प्रायः।" इति ग्रन्थेन (ध्वन्या० तारा०, पृ०२२)।

९. ध्वन्या० रश्मि०. भूमि०, पृ० ७।

१०.

११. ध्वन्या० बालप्रि०, पृ० ५५३।

१२. ध्वन्या० बालप्रि०, पृ० ५५४।

"आनन्द इति च ग्रन्थकृतो नाम ।"[१३]

इति लोचनग्रन्थस्वारस्येन चावगम्यते ।

आनन्दवर्धनस्य कारिकाकारत्वम्–

"आनन्द इति च ग्रन्थकृतो नाम । तेन स आनन्दवर्धनाचार्य एतच्छास्त्रद्वारेण सहृदयहृदयेषु प्रतिष्ठां देवतायतनादिवदनश्वरीं स्थितिं गच्छत्वितिभावः ।"[१४]

इति सहृदयमनोमन्दिरे तस्य[१५], देवायतने देवस्येव, शाश्वतीं स्थितिमुपपादयता लोचनग्रन्थेनावसीयते ।

अत एव लोचनग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् 'सः' इत्यस्य 'मूलग्रन्थकारः' इति व्याख्यामाख्यान्ति वालप्रियाकाराः[१६] ।

तस्मात्ध्वनिसिद्धान्तानां कारिकारूपेण निबन्धनाद् आनन्दवर्धनो न केवलं ध्वनिप्रवर्त्तक एव प्रतिपादयितुमर्हः, अपि तु ध्वनेराचूलमूलममलतया व्यवस्थापकत्वाद् ध्वनिकारेति नाम्नापि व्यपदेष्टुमुचितः । अत एव सदीधिति ध्वन्यालोकभूमिकायां दीधितिकारोऽपि—"ध्वनेः सर्वतः प्रथमं लक्षणस्य प्रवर्तकत्वाद् ग्रन्थकृदयं ध्वनिकारसंज्ञासम्मानस्य भूमिः ।"[१७] इत्येवमेव समर्थयते ।

यद्यानन्दवर्धनाचार्यस्य कारिकाकदम्बकं वृत्त्युदाहरणाद्युपबृंहितं नोपालप्स्यत, तदा ध्वनिसिद्धान्तस्य इयती महत्ता नेवाभविष्यत् । आनन्दवर्धनस्यायं ग्रन्थः तावान् महत्त्वशाली समजनि, येन परवर्त्तिन आचार्याः आनन्दवर्धनाचार्यमेव असन्दिग्धं ध्वनिप्रवर्त्तकत्वेनाङ्गीचक्रुः । अतएव परवर्त्तिनोऽनेके प्रतीहारेन्दुराज-राजशेखर-कुन्तक-महिमभट्ट-कल्हण-क्षेमेन्द्र-हेमचन्द्र-जयरथ-विश्वनाथ-गोविन्द-कुमारस्वामि-पण्डितराजजगन्नाथप्रभृतयः आनन्दवर्धनाचार्यं ध्वनिकारेत्युपाधिना व्यक्तं विभूषयाम्बभूवुः[१८] । अतएव च साहित्याध्वन्यालोकमादधानं ध्वन्यालोकसमभिधानं सलोचनं ध्वनिग्रन्थमिमं स्वोपजीव्यत्वेनाश्रित्य काव्यप्रकाशप्रणयनाद्धेतोः वृत्ति-कारिकाकृतोर्भिन्नत्वं नूनमवधारयन्नपि तत्रभवान् मम्मटभट्टः कारिकाकार-वृत्तिकारयोरुभयोः कृतेऽविशेषेण ध्वनिकार इति स्पष्टं प्रयुङ्क्ते । तथाहि—

"व्यज्यन्ते वस्तुमात्रेण यदालङ्कृतयस्तदा ।
ध्रुवं ध्वन्यङ्गता तासां काव्यवृत्तेस्तदाश्रयात् ॥

इति ध्वनिकारोक्तिदिशा"

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१३. ध्वन्या० तारा०, पृ० ६७ ।

१४. ध्वन्या०, कौमुदी टीकायुतः; ,पृ० ८१ (लोचनम्)

१५. आनन्दवर्धनस्येत्यर्थः ।

१६. ध्वन्या० बालप्रि०, पृ० ४१ ।

१७. ध्वन्या० दीधि०, भूमि०, पृ० २ ।

१८. ध्वन्या० रश्मि०, भूमि०, पृ०२. ध्वन्या० दीधि० भूमि०, पृ० २ ।

"तदुक्तं ध्वनिकृता—

सगुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यैः सालङ्कारैः सह प्रभेदैः स्वैः
सङ्करसंसृष्टिभ्यां पुनरप्युद्योतते बहुधा । [19]इति

इत्यादिषु यथा कारिकाभिः सह ध्वनिकारेति नाम निर्दिश्यते, तथैव—

"अनौचित्यादृते नान्यद् रसभङ्गस्य कारणम् ।
औचित्योपनिबन्धस्तु रसस्योपनिषत् परा ।"

इति वृत्तिगतं पद्यमपि ध्वनिकारनाम्नोल्लिख्यते काव्यप्रकाशे[20] ।

एवञ्च आनन्दवर्धनाचार्येण ध्वनिविवेकस्य यत् स्वोपज्ञत्वं ज्ञापितम्,तन्नातीवासङ्गतम्।

यदपि लोचनकृता-आनन्दवर्धनात् पूर्वं ध्वनिविषयकमेकमपि पुस्तकं नासीदिति कथ्यते, तदपि नानुचितम्, यतः-यो हि ध्वनिसिद्धान्तः चिरन्तने काले भृशं प्रसिद्धिमुपगतः, स गुरु-शिष्य-मुख परम्परयैव, न तु पुस्तकोपनिबद्धरूपेण-इति कालक्रमेण आनन्दवर्धनसमये स कार्श्यमुपेयिवान् इत्यवगम्यते 'समाम्नातपूर्व' इत्यस्यानुशीलनेन[21] । अभिनवगुप्ताचार्यश्च समुपलभ्यमानेषु नाट्यशास्त्र-काव्यालङ्कार-काव्यादर्शादिग्रन्थेषु कुत्रापि न नाम ध्वनेर्नामाप्युपलब्धवान् दृष्टवांश्च आनन्दवर्धनाचार्यस्य 'परम्परया यः समाम्नातः' इत्यत्र केवलम् 'परम्परया' इति पदम्, न तु 'एषु ग्रन्थेषु यः सम्यग् आम्नातः' इति विशिष्योपादानम्। तेन ध्वनिसम्प्रदायोऽयं विद्वन्निवहरसनापरम्परयैवाऽऽगतः इति सञ्जातप्रत्ययः सन् आनन्द-वर्धनात् पूर्वं ध्वनिविषयकनिबन्धाभावं व्यक्तमुक्तवान्—

"अविच्छिन्नेन प्रवाहेण तैरेतदुक्तम्, विनापि विशिष्टपुस्तकेषु विनिवेशनात्। [22] इति। तदयं पर्यवसितोऽर्थः—

ध्वनितत्त्वमिदं भामहादपि पूर्वं प्रसिद्धिमुपगतमासीत्[23], किन्तु भामहोद्भट-प्रभृतिरलङ्कारलक्षणकृद्भिः तत् सर्वथालङ्कारकुक्षौ निक्षिप्तम्, पश्चाच्चानन्दवर्धनेन पुनर्विहितोऽस्य समुद्धार इति ।

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१९. काव्यप्र० शशि०, पृ० १५१। (काव्यप्रकाशः, शशिकला टीकायुतः)
२०. काव्यप्र० शशि०, पृ० २७०
२१. ध्वन्या० तारा०, पृ० १५ ।
२२. ध्वन्या० कौमु०, पृ० ३२ ।
२३. ध्वनितत्त्वमिदं हि भामहाच्चिरं पूर्वमेव भरतादिग्रन्थे सुप्रसिद्धम् इति व्यक्त-मेवोक्तं ध्वन्यालोके –

"एतच्च रसादितात्पर्येण काव्यनिबन्धनं भरतादावपि सुप्रसिद्धमेव (ध्वन्या०-३।३२ कारिकाया वृत्तिः) इति ।

अविच्छिन्नप्रवाहेणाऽऽगतं तदेव ध्वनितत्त्वं स्वकारिकासु विशदीकृत्य ध्वनिसम्-प्रदायो विदुषां समक्षे समुपस्थापितः श्रीमदानन्दवर्धनेनेति –

समवसीयते चैतत्– समाम्नातपूर्व इत्यत्र अभ्यासार्थक 'म्ना' धातोः क्त प्रत्ययस्य 'पूर्व' पदप्रयोगस्य च प्रचुरं पर्यालोचनया ।

"तद् व्याकरोत् सहृदयोदयलाभहेतो–
रानन्दवर्धन इति प्रथिताभिधानः ।"[२४]

इति ध्वन्यालोकस्योपसंहारग्रन्थेनाप्ययमेवार्थः पर्यवस्यति ।

चिरन्तनालङ्कारतन्त्रप्रजापतिभिर्भामहादिभिः ध्वनिरलङ्कारकुक्षौ निक्षिप्त इति व्यक्तमुक्तं रुय्यकाचार्येण अलङ्कारसर्वस्वे– "इह हि तावद्भामहोद्भटप्रभृतयश्चिरन्तनालङ्कारकाराः प्रतीयमानमर्थं वाच्योपस्कारकतयाऽलङ्कारपक्षनिक्षिप्तं मन्यन्ते । तथाहि– पर्यायोक्ता–प्रस्तुतप्रशंसा-समासोक्त्या–क्षेप – व्याजस्तुत्यु–पमेयोपमा–नन्वयादौ वस्तुमात्रं गम्यमानं वाच्योपस्कारकत्वेन 'स्वसिद्धये पराक्षेपः, परार्थं स्वसमर्पणम्' इति यथायोग्यं द्विविधया भङ्ग्या प्रतिपादितं तैः । रुद्रटेन तु भावालङ्कारो द्विधैवोक्तः । रूपक-दीपका-पह्नुति-तुल्ययोगितादावुपमाद्यलङ्कारो वाच्योपस्कारकत्वेनोक्तः । उत्प्रेक्षा तु स्वयमेव प्रतीयमाना कथिता । रसवत्प्रेयःप्रभृतौ रसभावादिर्वाच्यशोभाहेतुत्वेनोक्तः । तदित्थं त्रिविधमपि प्रतीयमानमलङ्कारतया ख्यापित मेव । "[२५]

भामहात् पूर्वमपि काव्यतत्त्वविवेचनं सुविशदमासीदिति तु तस्यैव काव्यालङ्कारस्यानुशीलनेन समवगम्यते । तथाहि–

"रूपकादिरलङ्कारस्तथान्यैर्बहुधोदितः "[२६]
"उक्तं तदभिनेयार्थमुक्तोऽन्यैस्तस्य विस्तरः[२७]
"कवेरभिप्रायकृतैः कथनैः कैश्चिदङ्किता[२८]"
"वैदर्भमन्यदस्तीति मन्यन्ते सुधियोऽपरे[२९]"

"काव्याख्येऽखिलसौख्यधाम्नि विबुधोद्याने ध्वनिर्दर्शितः ।..
सोऽयं कल्पतरूपमानमहिमा भोग्योऽस्तु भव्यात्मनाम् ।।"

इति ध्वन्यालोकसमाप्तिश्लोके "ध्वनिर्दर्शितः" इत्युपादानेन,
"दर्शित इति–स्थित एव सन् प्रकाशितः, अप्रकाशितस्य हि कथं भोग्यत्वम्"
इति लोचनग्रन्थेन चावगम्यते ।

२४. ध्वन्या०, बालप्रि०, समाप्तिश्लोकः ।

२५. अलङ्कारसर्वस्वम्, सञ्जीवनीयुतम्, पृ० ७

काव्यप्रकाशस्य बालबोधिनीटीकायां भट्टवामनाचार्या अप्येवमेवोल्लिखन्ति– "वस्त्वलङ्काररसरूपस्य त्रिविधस्यापि व्यङ्ग्यस्य वाच्योपकारकतयाऽलङ्कारत्वमेवेति भामहोद्भटप्रभृतिचिरन्तनालङ्कारिकमतेन'···" । पृ० १८

२६. भामहस्य काव्यालङ्कारः, :, १।१३

२७. तदेव १।२४।

२८. तदेव १।२७

२९. तदेव, १।३१ ।

" ग्राम्यानुप्रासमन्यत्तु मन्यन्ते सुधियोऽपरे[३०] "

" प्रहेलिका साह्युदिता रामशर्माच्युतोत्तरे [३१] "

" दृष्टं वा सर्वसारूप्यं राजमित्रे यथोदितम्[३२] "

" सूर्यांशुसम्मीलितलोचनेषु - - - - -

दिनार्द्धभाजः परिवेषिणोऽर्कात् [३३]।

–शाखवर्धनस्य ।"

"संख्यानमिति मेधाविनोत्प्रेक्षाभिहिता क्वचित् [३४]।"

इत्यादिषु अन्यैः, कैश्चित्, अपरे, रामशर्मा, मेधाविना, शाखवर्धनस्य, राजमित्रे, इत्यादि प्रयोगैः भामहात् पूर्वं काव्यविषयप्रतिपादकाः बहव आचार्याः ग्रन्थाश्चासन्नित्यवगम्यते ।

अत्रापि बहु वक्तव्यं जायते, तत्तु नोदितम् ।
गुरुभिः किं विवादेन यथाप्रकृतमुच्यते [३५]।"

इत्यत्र महत्त्वास्पदेन 'गुरुभिः" इति पदेनानुमीयते यदयं भामहः स्वपूज्यं काञ्चनाचार्यं खण्डयतीति ।

किं च भामहसमये तत्पूर्वाचार्याणां बहवः प्रबन्धाः समुपलब्धाः समासन्, येषां विवेचना कृता काव्यालङ्कारे –इति स्वीकरोति स्वयमेव भामहो महता कण्ठेन

"इति निगदितास्तास्ता वाचामलङ्कृतयो मया
बहुविधकृतीर्दृष्ट्वाऽन्येषां स्वयं परितर्क्य च [३६]।"

"अवलोक्य मतानि सत्कवीना—
मवगम्य स्वधिया च काव्यलक्ष्म।
सुजनावगमाय भामहेन
ग्रथितं रक्रिलगोमि-सूनुनेदम् [३७]।।" इत्यादौ ।

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३०. तदेव २ । ६ ।
३१. तदेव २ । १९ ।
३२. तदेव २ ।४५ ।
३३. तदेव २ । ४७ ।
३४. तदेव २ ।८८ ।, ३ ।८।
३५. तदेव ४ । ७।
३६. तदेव ५ । ६९ ।।
३७. तदेव ६ । ६४ ।

एषु भामहसमये समुपलब्धेषु पूर्वाचार्यप्रबन्धेषु संभवतः समासन् तावदनेके तादृशा ध्वनिप्रस्थानाऽऽचार्यवर्यविरचिता ग्रन्थाः, येषु ध्वनिनिरूपणो निपुणं कृतमासीत्। प्रायश्चैतदेवाभिलक्ष्य–

"काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति बुधैर्यः समाम्नातपूर्वः ।।

इति समुदितमानन्दवर्धनेन.।

ते च ध्वनिप्रस्थापनपरा ग्रन्थानाभिनवगुप्तपादसमये समवतीर्णा लोकलोचनपथम्[३८], न चाप्यद्यत्वे समुपलभ्यन्ते इति त्वन्यदेतत्। प्राचीनसमये हि नैकेषां विदुषां विशिष्टा अपि ग्रन्थाः प्रकाशनसाधनाभावे, दौर्भाग्यादस्माकं, कालकवलिताः संजाताः, येषां बहूनामद्य नामान्यपि न ज्ञायन्ते। कस्यचित् कथंचित् यदि ज्ञायतेऽपि नाम, तदापि तद्ग्रन्थस्य साम्प्रतमनुपलब्ध्या तन्नाम्नैव सन्तोषः समाश्रयणीयो भवति। यथा **हृदयदर्पण** नामा ध्वनिध्वंसपरो ग्रन्थः प्रसिद्धोऽपि अनुपलब्धत्वात् काव्यमीमांसनावाप्तमहिम्ना[३९] महिम्ना नैव द्रष्टुमपारि।

तदुक्तं व्यक्तं व्यक्तिविवेके तेनैवारम्भे–

"—— अदृष्टदर्पणा मम धीः[४०]"

नैतावता ग्रन्थोऽयमासीदेव नेति वक्तुं युक्तम्। तस्मात्–

भामहाच्चिरं पूर्वमेव ध्वनिसम्प्रदायेन या प्रचुरा प्रसिद्धिरुपगता तस्याः परिचयः, तदानीन्तनग्रन्थानुपलम्भात् पश्चाद्भवैराचार्यैरधिगन्तुं नैवापारि सर्वथेति प्रतीमः[४१]।

इदमिहावधेयम्

आनन्दवर्धनाचार्यात् प्राचीनैश्चिरन्तनालङ्कारकारैर्भामहोद्भटप्रभृतिभिः ध्वनिरलङ्कारकुक्षौ निक्षिप्त इत्येतावता तैर्ध्वन्यादयोऽङ्गीक्रियन्त एव नेति वक्तुं न युक्तम्। तदेतदुद्घोषयति पण्डितराजो जगन्नाथः—

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३८. अत एव– "अविच्छिन्नेन प्रवाहेण तैरेतदुक्तं, विनापि विशिष्टपुस्तकेषु विनिवेशनात्।" इति लोचने गुप्तपादः प्राह। (ध्वन्या० बालप्रि०, पृ०. ११)

३९. महिमभट्टस्य कृते विशेषणमिदं महाकविहर्षेण प्रयुक्तम्।
"दोषं व्यक्तिविवेकेऽमुं कविलोकविलोचने।
काव्यमीमांसिषु प्राप्तमहिमा महिमाऽऽदृतः।" इति
(खण्डनखण्डखा०, पृ० ५७२)।

४०. व्यक्तिविवेके, १।४।

४१. (ध्वन्या०) तारावती, पृ० १५।

"ध्वनिकारात्प्राचीनैर्भामहोद्भटप्रभृतिभिः स्वग्रन्थेषु कुत्रापि ध्वनिगुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यादिशब्दा न प्रयुक्ता इत्येतावतैव तैर्ध्वन्यादयो न स्वीक्रियन्त इति आधुनिकानां वाचोयुक्तिरयुक्तैव। यतः समासोक्ति-व्याज-स्तुत्यप्रशंसाद्यलङ्कारनिरूपणेन कियन्तोऽपि गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यभेदास्तैरपि निरूपिताः। अपरश्च सर्वोऽपि व्यङ्ग्यप्रपञ्चः पर्यायोक्तकुक्षौ निक्षिप्तः। नह्यनुभवसिद्धोऽर्थो बालेनाप्यपह्नोतुं शक्यते। ध्वन्यादिशब्दैः परं व्यवहारो न कृतः। नह्येतावतानङ्गीकारो भवति ।"[४२] इति ।

तदेवं चिरन्तनकालतो विवेच्यमानस्यापि ध्वनितत्त्वस्य प्राधान्यमङ्गीकर्त्तुं नोत्सहन्ते कियन्त आचार्यवर्याः। तत्र, चार्वाक आत्मसत्तामिव, ध्वनेरस्तित्वमेवापलपति, अपरो ध्वनिं भाक्तम् (लक्षणाबोध्यम्), अन्यश्चानिर्वचनीयमभिधत्ते।

तदेतद् मतत्रयमानन्दवर्धनाचार्येणोपदर्शितं ध्वन्यालोके निराकृतं च ।

अलङ्कारसर्वस्वटीकायां विमर्शिन्यां जयरथेन तु द्वादश ध्वनिविरोधिमतानि निर्दिष्टानि[४३], परं तानि आनन्दवर्धनाचार्योक्ते ध्वनिविरोधिमतत्रये एवं भवन्त्यन्तर्भूतानि इति प्रधानत्रीण्येव ध्वनिविरोधिमतान्यवगन्तव्यानि[४४] इति शिवम् ।

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४२. रसगङ्गा० नागेशटी०, पृ० ५५४–५५५ ।

४३. "द्वादशेत्थं ध्वनेरस्य स्थिता विप्रतिपत्तयः ।" (अलङ्कारस० विम०, पृ० ६)

४४. तथा च लोचनकारः "— इति त्रय एवैते प्रधानविप्रतिपत्तिप्रकाराः"।
(ध्वन्या० रश्मि० पृ० १०)

REVIEW ARTICLE

NEW LIGHT ON SUN-TEMPLE OF KONARKA—by Alice Boner and S. R. Sharma; Chowkhmba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1972 pp. 285.

Khajurāho group of temples and the temples of Orissa have attracted the attention of most of the historians. But Koṇārka temple has it's own place in the art and religion of the early medieval India. This is famous as a landmark in the growth of sectarian-tantric Hinduism which has been the main inspiration of it's construction. But it's grandeur, which includes beautiful sculptures with which it is decorated and the whole socio-religious philosophy with which it is pervaded and the splendour which is the result of the then prosperous economy of India—all have been the matter of investigation of researchers who were attracted towards it.

Owing to these facts, a large number of books have been written about it's structure, images and sculptures, it's origin and decay and some other allied problems and themes. But the book under review is an unique one, because it throws a new light on the plan, composition and construction of the temple of Koṇārka.

The book has a preface which informs about the content of the subject in brief and tells about some original texts which were written by the planners and other personels who were the eye-witness of the construction of this religious edifice.

The introduction of the book is purposely very long and, no doubt, very useful. It gives a brief summary of the solar worship prevalent from the period of the Vedas and

the Upaniṣads and describes the Purāṇic growth of sun-worship. It also deals with the Tāntric and Yogic mysticism which had ultimately contributed much towards further development of solarsect of Hinduism. However, it does not bother to mention the theories propounded about origin and development of sun-worship in India by some authors who have written full theses about ancient Indian Sun-worship. Then it devotes some pages in describing the iconographic and architectural significance of Koṇārka temple and tries to explain some sculptures and art-forms with which the temple is/was beautified

The main purpose of the book, however, is not to trace these aspects of the growth of Sun-God's personality in Indian religion. It wants to place before the world of scholars, some Manuscripts, hitherto unknown, which throw valuable light on the construction and planning-aspect of the temple-complex of Koṇārka. The author mentions a number of manuscripts, written in Sanskrit or Oriya languages and has given a very useful summary of four manuscripts. "These manuscripts were found from the villages near Koṇārka. Their ancestors were directly associated with the temple. . . The main sources of these manuscripts were the families of the ancient landlords of Rūpāsa Gaḍha, and Kilā Bayalisbati whose forbears in the 13th century had been chief administrators and supervisors on the worksite. Their names occur in these Mss. which are copies of records kept during the construction of the temple and during the time when the temple was in worship. As mentioned in the colophons of these Mss. they are copies of a later date, but their original sources are invariably attested. "(Preface" p. v).

These Mss. were discovered in 32 villages of Koṇārka-area. Seven Mss. deal with Koṇārka. Three are written

in Kāvya-style, but four Mss. presented in this book are factual contemporary sources of information on the sun-temple of Koṇārka. The main body of the book belongs to these four Mss. The new light on Koṇārka Temple is thrown in fact by these orginal texts which are translated here in English making more useful for varieties of scholars.

Ms. one describes the architecture of the Padmakeśara (main) temple of Koṇārka. "This illustrated manuscript, consisting of 23 leaves, is according to it's colophon, a copy of the report on a survey, which Raja Purushottam Deva of the Khurda Dynasty (circa 1607-1621 A.D.) ordered to be made in the 4th anka of his reign (about 1610 A.D.) of the three major temples in his country; The liṅgarāja temple in Bhuvaneshvara, the Jagannāth temple in Purī and the Padmakeśara temple at Koṇārka..."

The manuscript which is translated here in full is far more detailed. It gives a description in words and images of the entire structure as well as of it's single parts. "It shows a sketchy impressionistic drawing of the silhouette of the entire temple complex. It has small ground plan, a diagram with the disposition of the wheels and the mystic *yantras* on which the various edifices are based. There is a detailed drawing of the main temple with it's *mukhaśāla*, as it stood before it's fall. Two more leaves show the *Naṭamaṇḍapa* with a ground plan and the Aruṇa Stambha on the reverse side of these leaves, there are diagrams, designs and descriptions of the structure-elements of all the temples. Two additional leaves belonging to another manuscript describe and illustrate on their front-side the Gate temples and the *Mahābhāskara* image of the main shrine, and on the reverse plan and elevation of the kitchen building. Some missing leaves probably describe the *Mahāgāyatrī* temple and her image."

The second Manuscript describes the Trikāla *Mahāmāyā-Arcanā Vidhi*. It is written in Sanskrit and has full design of the Mahāgāyatrī temple which is inside the compound of the Sun-temple (south-west). It has three mystic *Yantras* on which it's three parts were built. It has figures of nine *grahas* and twelve *Ādityas*. The ten-armed figure of Mahāgāyatrī Devī is also drawn. Other caves contain a text extolling the greatness of the three *Sūrya-Śaktis* Mahāgāyatrī Sāvitrī and Sarasvatī, who all reside in this temple. It also explains the meaning of the three *Yantras* representing the three goddesses with their *mantras* and the mode and time of their worship."

The third and biggest manuscript is the Bayā cakaḍā, consisting of 73 leaves, which have been translated in full. It is a book of accounts, recording the expenditure that went into the construction of the Padmakeśara temple, the *naṭamamdira*, the various building stones, and the methods used for quarring and transporting them, the technique of lifting enormous block to considerable heights and the process of casting huge iron girders used in the construction" (p. XLII).

The Manuscript informs on technical as well as human side of the construction-activities. It informs about some of the great architects who built Koṇārka. Some were, no doubt, known to us, but only two distorted names had come down to modern times. Their correct name is known now from Bayā cakaḍā. "Their names are mentioned for registering their contracts. In this way a document, whose value goes far beyond it's original purpose, has come down to us, giving circumstantial insights into the work-processes of long forgotten times and the human beings who devised and used them. It is an unique record of it's kind, for neither in India nor in Europe has any thing nearly so detailed been found for any of the other great monuments of medieval

times. The book mentions the names not only of the leading artists but of all other categories of collaborators-religious leaders and lay experts, supervisors and controllers." "It starts from the 5th *aṅka* of Rājā Narasiṃha Deva with the excavation for the foundation of the temple and ends in the 18th *aṅka* of the Rājā, with the consecration of all shrines and their images. Six years of previous preparations are not accounted.... However the purchasing capacity of the local currency, thr gold-māḍah, cannot be exactly known and hence the payments made in kind can only be guess work.... These accounts were kept in Puruśottama temple...."

"The main interest of the text lies in it's human and social aspects, presenting as they do a detailed chronicle of one of the greatest undertakings in the history of Indian temple building. It provides exact information about the work processes, the organisation of labour and the relationship between patrons, administrators, artisans and labour forces, about the personalities and qualifications of all those who collaborated in this enormous work, from the experts in Śilpa Śāstras and the priestly advisors to the architects and sculptors with their various specialities to the masons, the stone-cutters, the quarrymen and the auxiliary labour forces. It also provides valuable documentation on many technical matters which have hitherto remained a mystery" such as the provenance of technical specialists in every department and even ordinary workmen. From these records it is possible to form a vivid picture of their personalities, their character and their achievements, which at times appear almost beyond human capacity". (p. XLIV).

The Mss. has mentioned many architects and sculptors. "Sadāśiva Samantarāya Mahāpātra who held the title of *Sūtradhāra* was the actual creator and designer of all

the buildings. He was the main director. He carved two main images of Sun-God-Standing *Pūśan* (western Nisa temple) and *Mahābhāskara* (seated in garbhaṛha). He was a great sculptor and architect. He had a number of other experts.... Gadādhara Mahāpātra chief executive architect, Ganga Mahāpātra, Head of the Śilpis, Nārāyaṇa Mahāpātra, Master sculptor, and Visvanātha Mahāpātra, specialist in royal scenes and portraits." (p. XLV).

The Ms. throws light also on the enthusiasm of the builders. It seems to have caught the entire population. "Gifts of money, cloth and jewellery, grains and other food stores, milch cows, coconuts, timber, bamboo, ropes, ironore, copper, borax etc. poured in from all sides. Stone-cutters and sculptors were also sent by neighbouring Rājas, landlords, religious orders and associations (p. XLV). For example the leaf LXIX runs thus :—

1.	From the Chowdvara Fort Came	3840 māḍha
	from the state Treasury the Mahāsrama gave personally on his visit :	34033 Padma māḍha
	The Suasamalla Śānta sent from Vengigada (Fort) :	47038 asarpi māḍha (oblong gold pieces
2.	Chandramaṇi Mahādevī sent:	3708 māḍha
	Patamahādevī sent:	34038 elephant marked coins.
3.	From general revenues the Chief Bisoi (Bada Bisoi) Gopinath Budhalenka sent :	73083 māḍha.
4.	The superintendant Mahādeva Rājaguru Mahāpātra of the Great temple of Puruśottam sent :	3403 māḍha.

From revenues from Bidanasi Kataka: 3404 māḍha.

5. At the time of his coronation (1238 A.D.). the Mahasrama had been weighed in gold for the first time. This he brought coined as māḍhas : 134308 māḍha

6. From the bath of gold (Kanakasnāna) at the time of his marriage : 8343 māḍha

7. Of the Sunyā presents from Gauḍadeśa (Bengal) in the 8th aṅka of his reign...he sent on three elephants, leaving aside the precious stones: 37030 asarpi 7304 Badshah coins (bankatānka) = silver coins 7307 (weight of unmarked silver coins)

The account of the expenditure is more interesting. For our reader's interest, we quote some extract from Baya Chakada—Leaf XXX runs thus :—

1. Vīravar, Paṭṭanāyaka and Jadu Śānta, who had come to make the inventory of the stores stayed for 12 days, expenses : 1 māḍha 23 gaunis

2. On the fourth day of Bhādra one elephant died, for his carriage and burial : 24 gauni.

3. Śānta and others went back to Puruśottama for their journey on elephant back : 12 gauni

After locking the store-room, the accountant and their storekeeper went to Puruśottama on elephant back. Expenses for their Journey:	24 gauni.
4. On the new year (Sunyā) Visi (Viśvanātha) Mahāpātra sent a *mūrti* to Puruśottama as a Sunyā-present. He received a pithakia (award) of ;	1 māḍha.
5. To 16 pathurias under the supervision of Lakhana Mahāpātra, for making images :	2 bharana 14 gauni
6. To eight watchmen three months Victualling charges :	1 bharana 17 gauni
7. The Madurai Śilpis received for ten images :	2 māḍha
8. 178 Labourers received advance	1 bharana 70 gauni (pages 107-108).

The work, no doubt, has filled a long gap which modern researchers have been using to fill. We now write a good monograph on the socio-economic life of our ancient artists. Human and other resources, usefull for building activities in ancient times, are also known to some extent. The Ms. also throws some light on the technology and engineering-side of our huge constructions, made on a large scale in ancient times. It is well illustrated and has a valuable Glossary and some appendices. The book is very informative and certainly sheds a new light on the temple of Koṇārka.

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MOTIFS IN INDIAN MYTHOLOGY—Their Greek & other Parallels by U. P. Arora, Pp. 248+xxiv Indica Publishing House, Delhi—1981.

Mythologies, folk-stories and legends provide a revealing insight into the minds of the people creating them. They are a treasure-house of the experiences and reactions of the people handed down from very early times. Long before man evolved letters to preserve his experiences, the mythologies and folk-legends served as the best medium for recording and transmitting knowledge. The 'collective consciousness' of any people is best reflected in texts and traditions preserving the mythologies.

Every people have their own fund of mythologies. But Indian Society, which has a long and continuous history passing through several stages of evolution, is very rich in them. Some earlier folklorists and anthropologists did analyse some of the folk-tales of India. The earliest expressions of some elements of Indian mythology were scrutinized by a few Indologists. The need for subjecting this very characteristic and vocal manifestation of Indian values and ideas to historical analysis has been repeatedly appreciated, but rarely taken up.

The most interesting and rewarding aspect of the study of mythologies concerns comparative mythology. Even where we cannot demonstrate a common origin or mutual borrowing, we notice how human mind has a parallel reaction to similar situations, though time and climate may vary. We connot expect a more convincing argument to establish the oneness of the *homo sapiens.* But, in some cases the source of borrowing is quite evident. Even in their changed garb some mythologies carry the imprint of the genius of

their authors, or contain elements characteristic of the cultural climate in which they originated, and speak out their origin to the researcher who lends a discerning ear.

In the present monograph, Dr. U. P. Arora has attempted a scholarly study of the *motifs* in Indian mythology. The first chapter deals with legends about Creation, Four Ages and the Great Flood. The second and third chapters concern legends about births and deaths of several important characters. The motifs of metamorphoses and supernatural maidens have been discussed in fourth and fifth chapters. The sixth chapter analyses diverse type of legends, whereas the didactic tales in the *Mahābhārata* have been treated in the seventh chapter.

Dr. Arora summarises the findings of his study in the concluding chapter. He demonstrates that some points of resemblance are to be explained as issuing out of the common Indo-European heritage of the two people, while some others resulted from the intimate contact in the historical period. He does not hesitate to attribute some common elements to the Indian source, but at the same time is frank to admit the possibility of Greek origin in the case of others.

In my Presidential observations at the plenary session on the Greeko-Roman world and Ancient India at the Fifth World Sanskrit Conference (1981), reviewing the past studies and suggesting future possibilities, I had urged the young Indian scholars to devote themselves to first hand study of the original sources in this area. It is lamentable that even after centuries of the beginning of Indian studies we have to depend on English rendering of German translation of Greek sources. For a proper evaluation of the Greek sources it is imperative that scholars, who know the background and mind of ancient Greek writers and have a thoro-

ugh familiarity with different aspects of Indian culture, themselves analyse the ancient Greek writing. Needless to say, this requires language competence, training in history and other disciplines and knowledge of history and culture of the two ancient centres of culture. I am glad to note that Dr. Arora, who has assiduously acquired the difficult combination of all these disciplines, has made a very profitable use of his devoted talents to write with competence and confidence. I am sure the book will earn for him much credit, which he so eminently deserves. I hope and trust that he will continue his present scholarly interest and make valuable contributions to the interpretation of ancient Greek sources bearing on the past of India.

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Chairman, Numismatic Society of India.

STUTI AND STAVA : T. Goudrian and C. Hooykaas; Pp. 608, 8 Plates; Amsterdam-London, North-Holland Publishing Company, 1971; Price Hfl 100/-.

Sanskrit makes its first appearance in Indonesian inscriptions round about 400 A. D. though it must have been introduced in Java by the Kalingas in 1st or 2nd century A. D. It continues to play a prominent role in the religious and cultural life of the Indonesian Hindus for about one and a half thousand years till the advancing steps of ever more powerful Islam force the Hindu and Buddhist minority to shift to Bali. This island has preserved a large

number of ritualistic texts on the worship of different Hindu and Buddhistic deities which are mainly kept in the manuscript library named Gedong Kirtya of Singaradja (Bali). These texts often contain hymns or stray verses in praise of gods either to be used for different ritualistic purposes or to be sung towards the end of the worship of the Deity. Some of such Stutis were first collected by Sylvain Levi in 1928 and published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series of Baroda (Nr. 67).

Prof. C. Hooykaas who is well known to the Indological world through his two valuable contributions on Balinese—Hindu religion, namely *Agama Tirtha* and *Surya Sevana* (Amsterdam 1964 and 1966) has collected in the present work all available *Stutis* mainly from the rich MSS-material deposited in the above mentioned Library supplementing it through the MSS of Leiden collection and his personal collection. Over 300 Stutis which are collected in this work with variant readings and critical notes vary considerably in extent (1 to 25 verses) but on an average they contain some 5 to 10 ślokas which give an idea of the vastness of this rich source material which lies before the scholars for the first time together with an excellent English translation by Dr. T. Goudrian.

These Stutis fall roughly in three broad groups: (i) composed in grammatically neat and correct Sanskrit and originated either in India itself—in which case quite a number of them could be traced back to their Indian sources or at least shown to have their Indian sources or at least shown to have their Indian parallels or written in Indonesia by Indian Pandits; (ii) written in tolerably good though not faultless Sanskrit by Poets in Indonesia who still possessed considerable knowledge of the language and lastly

(iii) composed in the so-called 'Archipelago Sanskrit' infiltrated with a number of Old Javanese exppressions, a form of Sanskrit in which "nearly all conjugated verbal forms are absent" and which reminds one of the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. The authors confess that translations of such pieces could only be tentative since "the poet did not express himself grammatically."

The world of the gods which unfolds itself in these hymns is essentially the same as of the Hindu renaissance of the classical age of India, so well known to us through Epics and Purāṇas; the same Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, Durgā, Vāsuki, Gaṇeśa, Kubera, Kāma, Rati and Rāvaṇa etc., not to mention the more significant Hindu Trinity: Śiva who is identical with Sūrya, Brahmā who is identical with Agni and Viṣṇu in his different incarnations. The Dhyani Buddhas, Prajñāpāramitā and Mahāvīra have also their due place. What makes the book most valuable to the students of the history of Religion is the description of ritual environment in which the noted stutis are used or are prescribed to be used in ancient religious treatises. The employment of a Viṣṇu-Stava (Nr. 516), for example, for the Ekādaśa Rudra ceremony or funeral rites or of a Gaṇapati-Stava (Nr. 265) for irrigation purposes has close resemblance to the similar development of the hymns of Vedic Saṃhitās taken out of context and used later in Brāhmaṇas and Kalpasūtras for entirely different purposes; the case of *stutis* later attaining magical value and becoming *mantras*, in other words.

As regards the arrangement of the material and general get-up of the book we would like to note two points; (i) It would have been much more convenient and useful for the students of religion, had the authors arranged their material Deity-wise and not Latin-alphabetically depending upon the

first accidental letter of the first śloka of a stuti. We hold this opinion in spite of being fully aware of the difficulties and uncertainty of assigning many of the stutis to one particular Deity which could have been overcome to a great extent through cross references. This would have also save the reader the confusion caused by the ingenious system of numbering the stutis with an interspace of three, i.e. 001, 004, 007 etc. with a view to incorporate more stutis discovered later; (2) It would have facilitated the reading and use of the book, had the English translation been printed in a different type than the text. The repetition of the title and the number of stuti in translation would not have been necessary in this case.

Notwithstanding that the work is decidedly a most valuable and welcome source book not only for the students of religion for studying the Balinese offshoot of Hinduism and its further development in greater India but also for Linguistic who will find the transformation of Sanskrit sounds on Indonesian Archipelago considerably interesting.*

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*This review was written in 1973 and was originally proposed to be published in the *Journal of American Oriental Society.*

THE VAKROKTIJIVITA OF KUNTAKA—Critically edited with variants, Introduction and English translation by Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy, Dharwad : Karnatak University, 1977. Pp. lXXXIX+596, Price Rs. 40.00.

It was Dr. S. K. De, the doyen of modern scholars on Indian poetics, who first published a fragmentary edition, in 1932, of the first two chapters of the *Vakroktijīvita,* the epoch-making masterpiece of Kuntaka (about 950 A. D.) on the basis of two transcripts (of an incomplete original Malayalam palm-leaf manuscript), obtained from the Govt. Manuscripts Library, Madras. He issued his second revised and enlarged edition of the work in 1928, which was substantially different from the first edition and contained part of the III Chapter and a résumé of the rest of the text extending up to the IV Chapter on the basis of the Madras Manuscript. Dr. De's third edition was issued in 1961 by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, which is nothing more than a reprint of the 1928 edition without fully carrying out the Editor's suggestions noted in the Appendix to the 1928 edition and contains several misprints, not corrected in an errata.

Then, in 1955, another edition of Kuntaka's *Vakroktijīvita* was brought out by Dr. Nagendra from the University of Delhi with his own exhaustive Introduction in Hindi and a modern Hindi commentary by Ācārya Viśveśvara Siddhāntaśiromaṇi. Though several errors in De's edition are claimed to have corrected in this edition, the Editors have not used any other Ms. material and have added their own quota of misprints. Their conjectural emendations have been denounced in a subsequent Hindi edition by Śrī Rādheśyāma Miśra, published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi as No. 180 in 1967. In this edition, too, no attempt has been made to consult afresh the Ms. Material

and De's readings have been copied without hesitation. Thus the text of the *Vakroktijīvita* has been, despite these editions, in a state as bad as in 1928, especially in the portions covered in De's résumé.

Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy deserves a special mead of praise for having made available, for the first time, not only the complete authentic text of the *Vakroktijīvita* but also a lucid English translation thereof. He has reconstructed the text on the basis of : (1) a transcript of the Madras Manuscript (last two chapters only) used by De ; (2) a few stray fragment leaves of a new palm-leaf manuscript, not used for the transcript supplied to De and covering a major portion of his résumé (Vide Collection of Jinabhadra in the Fort-Bada Bhandar, New Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss., Jaisalmer Collection, p. 138) ; and (3) a paper transcript of the work actually supplied to De for his second edition. Besides, Dr. Krishnamoorthy has reconstructed right readings in the light of the anonymous *Kalpalatāviveka* (Ahmedabad : L. D. Institute of Indology, 1968) which contains about a hundred *Pratīkas* of the *Vakroktijīvita* mostly relating to the III Chapter (and thus to the résumé portion of De also) and authentically explained, Narendraprabha Sūri's *Alaṅkāramahodadhi* and Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana* which contain some more illustrative verses, whereas the earlier editors could not notice references to the *Vakroktijīvita* in these works. Because of the misplaced palm-leaf pages in Madras Manuscript, it was presumed so long that the original work extended far beyond the portion now available and the absence of a colophon supported this presumption ; but now that the misplacement has been rectified, the logical conclusion seems to have already been reached because all the topics proposed to be covered have been virtually exhausted ; and the work may not have contained

much more textual material except perhaps some closing verse/verses and the colophon.

Thus we owe deep gratitude to Dr. Krishnamoorthy for issuing a complete authentic text of the *Vakroktijīvita*, rescuing from oblivion the major part of this work, for the first time. His lucid English translation, the first of its kind, will prove of immense help in understanding the intricate text of the *Vakroktijīvita*. His Introduction contains valuable information and treats of the nature of the text of the *Vakroktijīvita*, the name of its author, Abhinavagupta's acquaintance of the *Vakroktijīvita*, Kuntaka's theory of *Vakrokti* in the estimation of his successors, Kuntaka's theory of poetry as understood by Ruyyaka and his commentator Samudrabandha, Kuntaka's idea of *Rasa* in relation to *Alaṅkāra* and Kuntaka as a practical literary critic. To the end of the Volume, the learned Editor has supplied indices to the *Kārikās*, illustrative quotations, Kuntaka's own verses (*Āntara-Ślokas, Saṅgraha-Ślokas*, etc.), and authors and works cited in the *Vakroktijīvita*. The misprints/errors are duly corrected in as Errata figuring at the end of the Volume.

In all respects, this is an authentic and very useful edition of Kuntaka's *Vakroktijīvita*, for which the learned Editor deserves all praise.

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STUDIES IN INDIAN AESTHETICS AND CRITICISM. By Dr. Krishnamoorthy. D. V. K. Murthy, Krishnamurthipuram, Mysore; 1979. Pp. viii 272. Rs. 45.00.

After S. K. De, P. V. Kane and V. Raghavan, who contributed richly to the arena of Sanskrit poetics through their brilliant and penetrating studies into the various concepts and theories of literary criticism in Sanskrit, the arena appears to be rather desolate. It is not that new scholars are not coming in, but certainly most of them are not coming up to the level set by the above savants. Studies made in right perspective and with a critical insight and judgement are not many. Viewed against the background of this state of affairs, Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy's recent work, *Studies in Indian Aesthetics and Criticism,* must be regarded as a significant contribution to the studies in literary theory in Sanskrit.

A brilliant collection of his twenty-four essays on various aspects of literary criticism in Sanskrit, the work is an extension of his earlier studies on the subject incorporated in the *Essays in Sanskrit Criticism* (Dharwar, 1964 ; second ed. 1974), which was "in the nature of a preliminary survey of the field from the standpoint of a modern student and addressed to the general reader." In comparison to this earlier attempt, the present volume aims at going a little deeper into the problems and as such takes up a more systematic and synthetic analysis of the data and puts forth some fresh conclusions, as justly claimed by the author (vide *preface,* p. vii). The work traverses a vast field from the philosophical background of Indian aesthetics and the Vedāntic idea of aesthetic experience to T. S. Eliot's critical theory in the light of Sanskrit poetics and modern writers on art experience ; from *rasa* as a canon of literary criticism and as a criterion determining the poet's art to *rasa, bhāva* and

sahṛdaya in Ananda Coomaraswamy's theory of Indian art; from Bhāmaha's theory of poetic art to Jagannātha's contribution to Sanskrit poetics; and from Indian quest for beauty to the concept of *bhaktirasa* (devotional sentiment) as enunciated in some later writers. Besides the theory of *rasa* critically studied with reference to its different aspects and problems such as the canon of *aṅgi-rasa* (ruling sentiment) and the idea of *sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* (raising the emotional complex to the aesthetic level of common enjoyability), some other concepts closely examined in the work are *lakṣaṇā, vakrokti, prauḍhokti, guṇa,* and *dhvani* with a reference to its relation with *rasa* and *tātparya*. These concepts have been studied in perspective and with a deep probing into the implications of the original texts against the philosophical background which has occasioned the origin and development of Indian aesthetics. In course of his examination of various theories and concepts, the author has made bold to question for the first time, as rightly claimed by him, the soundness of such ready-made and time-honoured dicta as "*rasa* is rarely a reader's delight", "*dhvani* is a concept with little philosophical subtlety," "the old *alaṃkāra* theorists like Bhāmaha were framers of merely rhetorical paradigms," and "theorists like Kuntaka are off-the-beat writers receding from the mainstream of literary criticism" and the like. The writer has eminently brought his mature scholarship and his deep studies in the subject for over two decades now to bear upon his fresh interpretations and conclusions which he has presented in the present monograph in a lucid and readable form.

Though written on different occasions and varying widely in scope and in manner of presentation, these papers converge in their entirety to one focal point which emphasises the fact "that Indian aesthetic theory is a palace with

several·halls, each with its own plenty to hold one's interest and that *rasa, alaṃkāra, guṇa, vakrokti, dhvani* etc. are much more than simple catchwords, implying often a whole philosophy of beauty" (vide *preface*, p. viii).

The volume is a welcome addition to the modern critical literature on Indian aesthetics and forms a significant contribution to a correct understanding and a proper appreciation of our rich heritage in this important field of studies.

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(1) **DASARUPAKA** of Dhananjaya with Dhanika's Avaloka. Edited with Hindi translation and exposition (Nandi) by Dr. Ramji Upadhyaya. Bharatiya Sanskrit Sansthan, Naribari, Allahabad; 1979. Pp. 8+320. Rs. 20.00/14.00.

(2) **DASARUPAKATATTVADARSANAM.** By the same author. Published by the same Publisher; 1978. Pp. 10×218. Rs. 25.00.

(3) **NATYASASTRIYA- PARIBHASIKA- SABDANUKRAMANIKA.** (Technical Terms in Natyasastra—an Index). Author and Publishers as above; 1980. Pp. 8+40. Rs. 15.00.

The *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanañjaya (last quarter of the 10th century A. D.), with *Avaloka* commentary of his contemporary Dhanika, occupies a unique place in the literature on dramatic theory in Sanskrit. Though based on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* which is a cumbersome work with its load of histrionic and other matters, it is a systematic work on the principles of dramaturgy, which in course of time superseded

all other treatises on the subject. The work, in four chapters, deals comprehensively with the topics of dramaturgy and also gives an exposition of his peculiar theory of *rasa* which in him stands with drama in the relation of the generalised (*bhāvya*) and the generaliser (*bhāvaka*).

The first volume under review is an edition of Dhanañjaya's work with Dhanika's *vṛtti*, with Hindi translation and exposition (called *Nāndī*) by Dr. Ramji Upadhyaya who has effected necessary emendations in the text corrupted at places, and has presented the correct text for the first time. In his *Nāndī*, he has also attempted a critical examination of the views of the authors of the *kārikā* and the *vṛtti* on points, in particular, where there is a digression in their texts from the authority of Bharata. Dr. Upadhyaya has brought his mature scholarship and his studies in the field of dramatic theory to bear upon his lucid exposition of the texts. It would have been better if the learned editor had touched upon, in the introduction, the issue of the origin and development of the literature on dramatic theory in Sanskrit with a special reference to the work edited and had given a brief account of the contents thereof. Again, the presentation would have been better if the text of Dhanañjaya and Dhanika and the translation and exposition by the editor had been properly apportioned at every page and chapter-indication had been given at alternate pages.

The second book is Dr. Upadhyaya's original work on principles of dramatic theory in Sanskrit drawn mainly from Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* and Dhanañjaya's *Daśarūpaka* and restated in a systematic form with copious citations from the obove works as well as from some other texts on dramaturgy in Sanskrit including *Abhinavabhāratī, Nāṭyadarpaṇa, Bhāvaprakāśa, Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* and *Nāṭakacandrikā,* and relevant chapters from *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and *Sāhityadarpaṇa* etc.

The work, written in readable Sanskrit, deals with almost all aspects of dramatic theory with reference to plot, characterisation, *vṛttis,* prologue, forms of *rūpaka,* and *rasa.* The brief introduction, prefixed to the work, points out some cases of transgression, in Dhanañjaya's work, of Bharata's dicta which the present treatise seems to uphold in general. The appendices at the end discuss the concept of shadow-play in Sanskrit and the issue of *sūtradhāra* as the writer of prologue in a drama and that of a play within a play, besides giving an index of important works of technical import discussed in the work. The book is a notable addition to the literature on dramatic theory in Sanskrit. What is lacking, however, in this nicely planned monograph is an historical perspective with a thoroughly critical approach to the problems involved. Absence of bibliography is another drawback of the book.

The third book, originally published in *Sāgarikā* (XIX. 2 ; 1980 ; pp. 1-40), is a small work in which Dr. Upadhyaya has given an index of technical terms occurring in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra.* He has written this with a view to creating a fresh interest in the text of Bharata. He has used for his index the Baroda edition of the work published under the Gaekwad Oriental Series (1926ff.). The work is quite useful for those who are engaged in research in the field of dramatic theory in general and on Bharata's work in particular.

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SARASVATIKANTHABHARANALAMKARA of Bhoja, with the commentary of Ratnesvara (up to third chapter) and that of Jagaddhara (on the fourth). Edited by Dr. Biswanath Bhattacharya. Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi; 1979. Pp. 40+636. Rs. 100.00.

Bhoja (A. D. 1010-1055) appeared on the scene of Sanskrit poetics in the third phase of its development, which witnessed a consummation of the doctrines of *rasa, alaṃkāra, rīti, dhvani* and *vakrokti*. These doctrines, broadly flowing into twin streams of the theory of aesthetics and the theory of composition, reached their culmination in Bhoja, one of the greatest Indian critics, who synthetised, in his own characteristic way, the theories of many of his predecessors. A prolific writer who is credited with the composition of about eighty works belonging to different branches of knowledge, he wrote two books on poetics, namely, the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇālaṃkāra* and the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*. In the first of these, he has combined almost all the principal tenets of the Kashmirian school represented by the poeticians from Bhāmaha to Kuntaka, the southern school represented by Daṇḍin and the Purāṇic tradition enshrined in the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* and the *Agnipurāṇa*. The work consists of five chapters on (i) poetic defects and excellences ; (ii) verbal figures of speech ; (iii) ideal figures of speech ; (iv) verbo-ideal figures (*ubhayālaṃkāras*) ; and (v) sentiments (*rasas*). It contains 628 *kārikās*, some of which its author has taken from earlier writers, especially Daṇḍin. Of the 1551 illustrative verses, the largest number in a single work on Sanskrit poetics excepting of course the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* of the writer himself, about 350 are in Prakrit taken mostly from Hāla's *Gāthāsaptaśati* and Pravarasena's *Rāvaṇavaho*. The Sanskrit verses cover almost the entire range of Sanskrit literature from the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* to the works of Bilhaṇa and Kṣemendra in the field of poetry, from Bhāsa's

plays to the *Hanumannāṭaka* and the *Chalitarāma* in the sphere of drama and from Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* to Kṣemendra's *Aucityavicāracarcā* in the arena of poetics, besides a large number of lesser writers and poets found cited in early anthologies.

The volume under review is a critical edition of this rhetorical text of encyclopaedic character, along with the fragmentary commentary of Ratneśvara on the first three chapters and that of Jagaddhara on the fourth chapter, based on four printed editions (ed. A. Barua, Calcutta, 1880; Visvesvara Shastri Dravida, Varanasi, J. Vidyasagara, Calcutta, 1894 ; and NSP ed.. Bombay, 1934) and the three manuscripts of the commentaries deposited in the Sarasvati Bhawan Library, Varanasi. The learned editor, Dr. B. Bhattacharya, Professor of Sanskrit at the Banaras Hindu University and an eminent scholar in the field, has made great efforts to present before us the text with the available commentaries in a much improved form. He has been able to solve the riddle of certain doubtful phrases and restore the correct reading at many places and also to put correct punctuation marks without which the proper understanding of the text is seriously hampered. Again, he has separated Bhoja's own *kārikās* from such verses or *kārikās* as have been taken by him from earlier treatises like the *Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin.

A special feature of the volume is the learned introduction in which the editor has attempted an analytical survey of the contents of the work and has made a critical assessment of Bhoja's contribution to Sanskrit poetics, besides describing the critical apparatus used in editing the text. Another special feature of the volume is the welcome fact that it contains at the end indices of (i) half-verses of *kārikās*,

(ii-iii) illustrative verses in Sanskrit and Prakrit, giving full references to their original source (barring a few cases where the source could not be located), (iv) quotations (*kārikās, sūtras,* prose passages etc.) from other works, and (v) the books and authors referred to in the treatise and also in the commentaries. Besides, the volume contains line-drawings of the various *bandhas* defined and discussed in the second chapter of the works.

The editor richly deserves the gratitude of the scholars and students of Sanskrit poetics for presenting before them this important text, with available commentaries, in as flawless a form as possible, and providing it with comprehensive appendices of great practical utility for purposes of research and reference. The scholarly world is eagerly looking forward to his promised second volume of the work, comprising the translation of the text, notes on important points, Harihara's commentary and a detailed critical study and assessment of the text.

The book has been brought out as volume XIV of the BHU Sanskrit Series under the General Editorship of Professor V. K. Varma. Following the University to undertake the publication of new editions of old treatises that are not included in the current syllabus of studies and are going to oblivion, some really valuable works have been published under the above Series during the past years, and the present volume is one of them. The University authorities and the Director of the Series deserve thanks—the former for taking this happy decision and the latter for implementing it in a nice manner. It may not be out of place here to suggest to the Director of the above Series to undertake the publication of the full text of Bhoja's another work on poetics, namely, the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa,* which has not

so far been published in full, though a study of it by Dr. V. Raghavan has now run into its third edition (Madras, 1978).

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SUBANDHU AND DANDIN by Dr. Maan Singh; New Delhi : Meharchand Lachhmandas Publications; 1979. Pp. xx + 578. Rs. 120/.

Subandhu and Daṇḍin are two of the three great masters of the Sanskrit prose, the third being Bāṇabhaṭṭa. These three writers are not far away from each other in chronology; they fall within a period of two hundred years from about the beginning of the 6th century A. D.

The volume under review attempts a comparative evalution of the literary merits of Subandhu and Daṇḍin, chronologically the first and the last of the trio. These two writers who are juxtaposed for comparison and contrast, have beeen studied in this work side by side with regard to their life and works and sources of the plots dealt with in them (ch. I-II), their technique of plot-construction and narration (ch. III), desctiptive art (ch. IV), art of characterisation (ch. V), delineation of sentiments (ch. VI), style and diction (ch. VII), and the use of poetic figures (ch. VIII) in their prose romances. In the last chapter (IX), the author has dealt with the two writers' indebtedness to earlier poets and their influence on later writers. Besides, he has given much additional data relevant to the present

study in the appendices (I-VII) which supplement the findings and conclusions arrived at in the work. Some of the notable findings and conclusions arrived at by the author are (i) that Subandhu (between 385-465 A. D.) lived at the court of the Gupta kings, Kumāragupta I (A.D. 414-55) and his son Skandagupta (A.D. 455-67); (ii) that the exant *Avantisundarī-kathā* of Daṇḍin forms the earlier part of the full text of the *Avantisundarī-kathā* with *Daśakumāracarita* as its later part with another portion, now lost, which might have existed and covered the lacuna between the available extent of the *Avantisundarī-kathā* and the commencement of the *Daśakumāracarita* proper; and (iii) that three widely famed *prabandhas* of Daṇḍin were the *Kāvyādarśa*, *the Dvisaṃdhānakāvya* and the *Avantisundarī-kathā* (incorporating the available *Avantisundarī-kathā* and the *Daśakumāracarita* with some portions lost in the middle and at the end). One may or may not agree with Dr. Singh in some of his conclusions but the fact remains that he has thoroughly discussed the relevant issues with reference to divergent opinions of scholars on them and has explöited the available evidence in full and in perspective.

The volume is a product of fine scholarship, and it eminently displays author's wide learning and critical approach. The study is deep and is richly documented and is thus a good contribution to our understanding of the literary achievements of Subandhu and Daṇḍin and also to our reassessment of some of the long-standing problems relating to Daṇḍin and his writings, which the present reviewer has also had an occasion to discuss in his works *A critical Study of Daṇḍin and his Works* and *Society and Culture in the Time of Daṇḍin* and in the introduction to his edition of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*. The author richly deserves our thanks and heartly felicitations for the scholarly contribution he has

made to the literary studies in Sanskrit. The publishers also deserve our congratulations for neat printing and fine get-up of the volume.

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ROBE AND PLOUGH : (Monasticism and Economic Interest in Early Medieval Sri Lanka), R.A.L.H. Gunawardana, The Association for Asian Studies, Monographs and Papers, No. XXXV, The University of Arizona Press, Tucson, Arizona, 1979, pp. 377+XII.

Max Weber (Religious Rejections of the World and their Directions, in *From Max Weber*, ed. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, 1961, p. 332) has rightly said—"The paradox of all rational asceticism is that rational asceticism itself has created the very wealth it rejected. Temples and monasteries have everywhere become the very loci of all rational economics". The Buddhist monasteries in early medieval Sri Lanka became victims of this universal desease. The economic interest of the Buddhist *Saṅgha* became as important, if no more, as the doctrinal aspect of the religion in early medieval Sri Lanka. There has been a close relationship between the socio-economic changes in the lay sector and the monastic order in early medieval Sri Lanka. Thus it is imperative for a proper study of socio-cultural history of Sri Lanka to examine the organizational and economic aspect of the Budhist monasteries as much as the doctrinal aspect. But it can not be denied that so far doctrinal aspect of Buddhism in Sri Lanka has been given due attention

as is clear from a review of works like those of Kern (1903), Charles Eliot (1921), G. P. Malalasekera (1928), S. Parnavitana (1928), E. W. Adikaram (1946), Walpola Rahula (1956), Andre Bareau (1955), W. Geiger (1960). N. Mudiyanse (1967), M. Rohanadheera (1974), L. S. Perera *(The Institutions of Ancient Ceylon from Inscriptions) 3rd century B. C. to 10th century A.D.*—unpublished thesis of the University of Ceylon) while Buddhist monastic economy in relation to socio-cultural transformations in early medieval Sri Lanka has been only casually treated. Rahula attempted to divert our attention to monastic economy and organization in a chapter in his work but it does not go beyond the 10th century while Rohanadheera traces the institutional aspect of the Buddhist *Saṅgha* from the 13th to the 16th century A.D. Practically there has been the absence of an independent work on the Buddhist *Saṅgha* in its economic aspect in early medieval Sri Lanka from the 10th century to the 13th century A. D. till 1979 when Gunawardana publised the present work—*Robe and Plough* which 'provides an extensive study on the Buddhist *Saṅgha* in Sri Lanka from the ninth to the thirteenth century' where he examines and interprets 'the emergence of monasteries as property-owning institutions' and their role in the evolution of Sinhalese social order and culture. The present work which has developed out of his doctoral thesis of the University of London has ten chapters, with preface (X) abbreviations (XI), and introduction in the beginning and bibliography, chronological chart and Index in the end. In the introduction the author surveys the earlier works on Budhism in Sri Lanka and lists the reasons for his chronological brackets (9th-13th century). It was during these four centuries that the hydraulic civilization of Sri Lanka reached its zenith leaving Buddhist *Saṅgha* more independent and more prosperous, making Sri Lanka as a source of inspiration to the Buddhists of South-East

Asia; and leading to the establishment of a unified order of the *Saṅgha* for the whole country. The subject of the Buddhist *Saṅgha* as property-owning institutions and their role in society and cultural diffusion has been studied on the basis of a variety of sources– the Pāli and Sinhalese chronicles and archaeological sources combined with Tibetan, Burmese and Chinese chronicles and epigraphic records from India and South-east Asia.

The first chapter—The Structure of the *Saṅgha* (pp. 7-51) is concerned with the three divisions of the Sinhalese *Saṅgha*—the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagirivihāra and the Jetavanavihāra *Nikāyas*, at the capital. The Mahāvihāra received consistent patronage from the royalty as well as nobility during the ninth and tenth centuries and many buildings were added to it. Epigraphic records provide ample evidence to show that many monasteries owed allegiance and accepted leadership of this Nikāya—most prominent being the Thūpārāma, the Mariccavaṭṭivihāra, the Issarasmaṇavihāra, and the geographical distribution of monasteries owing allegiance to this *Nikāya* was far and wide-Polonnaruva in the east, Dakkhināgiri and Kanigam in the Matale District, and Kapugam, Uḍatisa and Bhillivāna in the far south. The Abhayagiri *Nikāya* was a popular fraternity of Buddhists which received extensive patronage by kings and noble alike and has a wide following as is proved by literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidences. Cetiyagiri monastery at Mihintale accepted its leadership while literary evidences indicate that some other monasteries like Lohdvāra, Ralaggāma and Koṭipassāvana were dedicated to it. The teachings of the Abhayagiri *Nikāya* has been discussed thereafter where it has been shown that the *Nikāya* was primarily a divison within the Theravāda, yet followers of both the Mahāyāna and the Tantra lived here.

The Jetavana *Nikāya* originated from a schism in the Abheyagiri monastery on the question of accepting the teachings of the Vetullavāda. Those who were against it formed this group around the middle of the third century. The geographical distribution of this monastery's followers is not known, though it appears to have been quite extensive due to the popularity of the Mahāyāna and the Tantra ideas at this time. Then the author describes the order of nuns which declined by the end of the Cola period. The growth of ascetic sects like Paṃsukulikas and Ārannikas and the emergence of a separate group of Dravidian monks during this period form the subject of discussion. As regards the place of *Nikāyas* in the structure of the *Saṅgha* the author concludes that they formed the main element in its structure which kept supervisory control over subordinate monasteries, and were representatives of the *Saṅgha* as a whole but there were other independent monasteries also in Sri Lanka.

The Chapter II—The *Saṅgha* and Monastic Property (pp. 53-94) tells us that the monasteries departed from their earlier stands of rejection of wealth and all forms of economic activity and transformed themselves into property-owning institutions by this time due to two main factors—the rise in numbers of clerics and monasteries and increase in their demands for maintenance of its inmates, buildings, and rituals; and the increase in the capacity of the royalty and the nobility for charities and endowments due to improved food-technology. By the ninth-tenth century monasteries have become centres of wealth as they owned varied types of property-irrigation works, fields, plantations salterns, and villages. As regards the nature of propertyrights it appears that the rights of the monstery in both land and irrigation works were not restricted to taxes and share of the

income. 'They were in actual possession of atleast some of these donations and were in a position to enforce the right to their legitimate share by gentle yet effective means.' 'The transfer of villages to monasteries were done on the basis of varied types of rights–the right to taxes, to labour from its inhabitants, to property rights over its land, or a combination of these. Most of the grants to the *Saṅgha* were intended to be permanent but their estates could have been alienated by sale and mortgage. Thereafter the learned scholar assesses the extent of monastic property with special reference to that of the Cetiyagiri monastery. Agricultural production in Monastic estates was done by tenurial system viz. by tenant cultivators on share-cropping basis. There are references to hired labour also at this time in Sri Lanka. Drought animals also formed elements of monastic property. Thus monasteries became centres of wealth and there was a change in the attitude of the Buddhist monks towards wealth in the sense that they became acquisitive. They indulged now in trade and commerce and individual ownership of monastic property came to be developed by this time.

The Management of Monastic Property is the theme of the third chapter (pp. 95-136). *Ārāmika*-a wide variety of workmen and employees including slaves, tillers, and *Kappiya-kāraka*-officials incharge of the wealth of the monasteries were originally responsible for the administration of monastic property. By the ninth-tenth century elaborate system of administration was developed as the Committee of eight members are mentioned in inscriptions. Officials maintained close contacts with the tenants as well as with middlemen. Minor administrative officials and functionaries to assist the Committee of Management were an assistant steward *(piri--vahanu vala Kami)*; purser *(piṭassam)*, in-

charge of inside affairs *(rajge upāni Kāmi)*, and some ritual functionaries. Labor force were either employees receiving land allotments and allowances of rice; or slaves or bondsmen; or tenants of the monastery performing corvee duty. Like a business–house they developed a high class system of book-keeping and accounting. Monks were sometimes involved in administration.

The close relationship between the monastic life and the laity has been discussed in IVth chapter (pp. 137-169). It narrates the rules and modalities of recruitment to the *Saṅgha*, the life-style of the new recruit, the daily routine and monastic life facilities have been analysed thereafter. During this period the monastery served as a centre of education and culture and produced monks of scholarly repute like Ānanda, Anuruddha; Sariputta, Kassapa etc. Due to a change in the attitude towards wealth monastic orders have closer relations with the laity in this period as monks continued to maintain some relationship with his kins and were themselves landlords having many lay tenants and officials with them.

The close relationship between the *Saṅgha* and the King forms the the subject-matter of the Vth chapter (pp. 170-211). There has been an inter-dependence of the *Saṅgha* and the King which led to the balance of power in the Sinhalese society during the period under review. He differs from Rahula that officials of the monasteries were paid by the state. On the other hand, monasteries appear to have employed and paid their own staff. Monasteries enjoyed grants of immunities from taxes, and fiscal administration and enjoyed ceremonial privileges too. There were judicial immunities also such as for refugees entering monastery hall; prohibition for official entry into monastic land. There are evidences of the *Brahmadeya* tenure also. There-

after, the author discusses the questions of the rights of tenantry in monastic estates, the position of the Buddhist *Saṅgha* during the Hindu rule, the inter-relationship between monastic influence and political affairs, and probable areas of conflict also.

The chapter VI–Cults and Rituals (pp. 212-241) takes up the issue of the absorption of local cults like Yakkha and Nāga and the compromise of Hindu and Buddhist cults. Buddhism evolved ceremonial and magical practices such as the *parilla* (charm to protect individual and community); the *Dhāraṇis* (Tantric incantations); relic festivals, the *dharma-dhātu,* image-worship of Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas,* to satisfy the needs of the people during early medieval Sri Lanka. Rituals for cult-objects were developed elaborately and included consecration, the practice of honouring cult-images with lamps, flowers and incense etc. and employment of music, dance and drama also came to be essential part of monastic rituals. Some Hindu influence may be discerned in these practices. Religious ceremonies helped in legitimization of the position of the king and appear to have helped in the hierarchal nature of society. From this point of view it could never have served the purpose of social brotherhood on equal terms.

Sri Lanka as centre of trade in the Indian ocean gave the *Saṅgha* good opportunities for regular contact with Buddhist centres in India as well as in South-east Asia. The seventh chapter (pp. 242-281) tells us in a graphic way the relations of Sri Lanka's *Saṅgha* with centres of Buddhism in Eastern India, particularly the Buddha Gaya in Nepal and Tibet, in South India and its interaction with the *Saṅgha* in Burma, and its relations with Cambodia, Sumatra, and Java. These movements of monks and laymen during this period led to the rise of different sects and tradition

in Buddhism in this whole region of South and South-east Asia.

By the tenth century the structure of the *Saṅgha* underwent change in the sense that eight 'fraternities' technically known as *Āyatanas* of monks replaced three *Nikāyas*. Four belonged to the Abhayagiri 'fraternity' while other fours belonged to the Jetavana monastery. It led to the weakening of the *Nikāya*. This is the theme of the eighth chapter (pp. 282-312).

The Ninth chapter—A New Organization for the *Saṅgha* : The Unification and its Significance (pp. 313-337) deals with the unification of the *Saṅgha* in A. D. 1164/65 by Parākramabāhu I. There are two distinct aspects of the reform-purification and unification. Purification did not meant suppression of all *Nikāyas* and the victory of the Mahāvihāra faction as Eliot and Parnavitana have suggested. The testimony of literary and archaeological works indicate that the unification merely amounted to a restructuring of the *Saṅgha* under a common leadership with the co-existence of varied faction within it while purification was confined to matters of discipline. A closer examination reveals that the reform done by Parākramabāhu I and synod of four monks resulted in the unification of the eight *mūlas* or *āyatanas* of the earlier century rather than of the three *Nikāyas*. Hierarchies were created and emphasised as is evident from terms like *Mahāsvāmi*, *Mahāsthavira*. Thus in theory the position of the *Saṅgha* was strengthened but in practice the power of the king increased as he was responsible for the appointments of higher posts in the *Saṅgha*. But it had beneficial effect in the sense that there could not have been any conflict between the secular and religious head.

In the last chapter the learned scholar reviews the

main findings, elaborates their implications and situates this study in the context of previous research on the history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka (pp. 330-350). The author has emphasised on two important changes in the Buddhist monastic order-the adaptation of monastic life to the dictates of a hydraulic society viewed as a natural process rather than as a case of 'decline', and secondly, the unification of the *Saṅgha* as a controlling factor within and without the Sinhalese body politic.

The main focus of study has been the social and economic aspects of the Buddhist Saṅgha in Sri Lanka but doctrinal aspect has also been analysed from the point of view of doctrines as integrative force of intermonastic groupings and as a restraint on the actions of clerics. Buddhist monasteries as a centre of 'primitive accumulation' in early medieval Sri Lanka may be compared with their counterparts in Medieval Europe. They differ from each other in the sense that monastic celibates in Europe were productive physical force while the Buddhist monastic community was a corporation of 'non-producers' dependent on various types of workmen and functionaries for production and maintenance of monastic economy. A comparison of the Buddhist monastic order in early medieval Sri Lanka and the Indian *Jajmāni* system brings many points of difference. The author differs from Hocart in the sense that he does not believe in the unity of church and state and differs from Rahula also in the sense that he does not accept the view that the monastic organization was merely an extension of the state apparatus. The study brings into prominent relief the various roles of the *Saṅgha* in the evolution of Sinhalese culture. It worked as a great integrative force in the society. Thus it is a scholarly analysis of the interrelationship between the intellectual, social and

economic aspects of the history of the Buddhist *Saṅgha* in early medieval Sri Lanka on the combined basis of literary and archaeological sources on modern historical principles. It is a matter of satisfaction that the author is not wedded to any exclusive historical ideology and tries to weigh all facts and evidences thoroughly before he reaches to any conclusion.

There are some inaccuracies and misinterpretations of minor nature such as meaning of *nivāpa* (pp. 99,123) which appears to be gift of food, and not wage (see T. W. Rhys Davids, et el., *Pali-English Dictionary*, (p. 372) as it has been taken. Similarly the reference of Itsing testifying to the provision of one third of produce as tax in return for land (p. 76) is not to be traced in the Indian edition of Isting's work where (p. 61) one sixth of the produce is mentioned. However, these discrepencies do not detract from its value as the first-rate history of the Buddhist *Saṅgha* in early medieval Sri Lanka in its socio-economic aspect as well as the cultural aspect of whole of south Asia and South-east Asia. However, more emphasis on the feudalistic structure and its relationship with the Sinhalese social order should have been given. For this the exploitative aspect of the monastic economy should have been analysed. Similarly there is virtually no discussion on the impact of the unification of the *Saṅgha* and consequent rise of the Chapata-order in Burma on the Ari cult (p. 273).

The study of Gunawardana is the first extensive analysis of the economic aspect of the Buddhist order in early medieval Sri Lanka and is definitely an improvement on earlier works of Rahula, Eliot, Parnavitana and many others. He deserves hearty congratulations for producing this scholarly work on a comparatively little known subject of the Buddhist monastic order in early medieval Sri Lanka

in its material aspect without ignoring the cultural relationship on sound scientific principles of historical writing in a free and frank style with no ideological bias.

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THE KAVYA[–] PRAKASA [–] DARPANA OF VISVANATHA

ed. Dr. Goparaju Rama, Allahabad—211 002, First Edition, 1979,
Pages 1 - 8 + 1 - 168; Price : Rs. 16.00.

The book under review contains a more or less complete text of Viśvanātha's *Kāvya-prakāśa-darpaṇa*, a short but important commentary on Rājānaka Mammaṭa-Bhaṭṭa's *Kāvya-prakāśa*, based on a transcript of a single paper manuscript, dated Vikrama Saṃvat. 1730 [= 1673 A. D.], belonging to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

This text of the commentary is decidedly in a better position than the incomplete text on Ullāsas III-VI edited by Dr. Goparaju Rama in 1976[1]) on the basis of a single fragmentary MS. deposited with the Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Allahabad[2]).

1. The *Kāvya-prakāśa* of Ācārya Mammaṭa with the *Bāla-cittānurañjanī* of Narahari Sarasvatī-tīrtha, *Sārabodhinī* of Śrīvatsalāñchana Bhaṭṭācārya and *Kāvya-prakāśa-darpaṇa* of Viśvanātha Kavi-rāja, ed. Dr. Goparaju Rama and Dr. Jagannatha Pathak, Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Allahabad, 1976.

2. See the present writer's research paper entitled << The Kāvya-Prakāśa with Three Old Commentaries >> published in the *Saṃskṛta-Vimarśa*, Vol. V, Pts. I & II, December, 1977, Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, New Delhi, pp. 116-125.

Anyway, the Present text is graced with a scholarly Introduction and learned foot-notes. The scribal errors have been corrected carefully in most cases and proposed emendations placed within brackets.

Now, Viśvanātha is an ālaṅkārika of Utkala-deśa. He is said to have been a denizen of Harikṛṣṇa-pura, a village near Puri. His father's name is given as Chandraśekhara. His son's name is known to be Anantadāsa, who composed the Locana on the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*.

Viśvanātha's prapitāmaha, Nārāyaṇadāsa, outwitted Dharmadatta, a contemporary ālaṅkārika, at the court of some Narasiṃha-deva[3] [probably King Narasiṃha II (ca. 1279-1306 A.D.)] of Kaliṅga.

Nārāyaṇadāsa's younger brother's son (anuja-sūnu), Caṇḍīdāsa (ca. 1300 A. D.) composed the Dīpikā on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. Viśvanātha refers to Caṇḍīdāsa in many cases.

Viśvanātha and some of his ancestors are said to have been patronized by the Narasiṃha-devas of Kaliṅga. A protégé of some king named Nṛsimha, he composed the Nṛsimha-vijaya[4]).

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3. *yad āhus tri-Kaliṅga-bhū-maṇḍalā-* [″] *khaṇḍala-sahārājā* [′] *dhirāja Śrī-Narāsiṃha-deva-sabhāyāṃ Dharmadattaṃ sthagaya* [*n*] *taḥ sakala-sahṛdaya - goṣṭhī gariṣṭha* [-] *kavi-paṇḍitā* [′] *smat-prapitāmaha - Śrīman-Nārāyaṇadāsa* [*—pādā*]*ś* [——] *camatkāra eva sakala-rasa-prāṇabhūtaḥ; tasya rāgā-*[″] *dyaṃśa-śabalatve*

yathāyathaṃ śṛṅgārā-[″] di-vyapadeśaḥ; tad-abhāve tv adbhuta-vyapadeśa iti......[*Kāvya-prakāśa-darpaṇa*, *p*. 41]

4. yathā mama Nṛsiṃha-vijaye............[*Kāvya-prakāśa-darpaṇa*, p. 79]

Viśvanātha has many appellations[5].

He refers to Allāvadīna [=Allauddin Khilji] in his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* 4/14 svopajña-vṛtti. Allauddin is said to have been poisoned to death in 1316 A. D. Again, the earliest known MS. of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* is dated Saṃvat. 1440 [=1384 A. D.]. Viśvanātha's date can be placed in the period between 1300 and 1384 A. D.

Viśvanātha refers to and cites from his *Candrakalā-nāṭikā*[6]), *Prabhāvatī-pariṇaya-nāṭaka*[7]) and *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*[8]) in his *Kāvya-prakāśa-darpaṇa*. Such cross references rectify the mislections in the printed text of the *Kāvya-prakāśa-darpaṇa*.

In his *Kāvya-prakāśa-darpaṇa* Viśvanātha refers to Ruyyaka)[9],

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5. iti Śrīman-Nārāyaṇa-caraṇā- ['] ravinda-madhukarā ["] laṅkā-rika-cakravarti-dhvani-prasthāna-paramā- ["] cāryā- ['] ṣṭādaśa-bhāṣā-vāra- [vilāsinī-bhujaṅga-saṅgīta- vidyā- Vidyādhara - kalā-vidyā- mālatī-madhukara- vividha-vidyā- ['] rṇava-karṇadhāra-sāndhi-vigrahika-mahā-pātra- Śrī- Viśvanātha-kavi- rāja-kṛtau kāvya-prakāśa-darpaṇe Arthā- ['] laṅkāra-nirṇayo nāma-daśamollāsaḥ [*Kāvya-prakāśa-darpaṇa*, p. 168)

6. ..... madīya - Candrakalā nāṭikā - prabhṛtiṣu tu unmānādāder [unmādā (-") der] granthavyāpitvam (°tvaṃ .....sic)/[*Kāvya-prakāśa-darpaṇa*, p. 48.]

7. tad yathā mama Prabhāvatī-pariṇaya-nāṭake......*Kāvya-prakāśa--darpaṇa*, p. 117]

8. ...... etac ca prapañcitam asmat-Sāhitya-darpaṇe/*Kāvya-prakāśa-darpaṇa*, p. 6]

Such references to the Sāhitya-darpaṇa are numerous.

9. ata evā ['] laṇkāra-sarva-svakṛtā ['] pi << su-nayane ! nayane nidhehī (niprahī——sic) >> ty-ādau vibhakty-arthasyā (vibhakta-yarthasyā——sic) ['] paunaruktyam api Lāṭā-['] nuprāsatvam uktam/ *Kāvya-prakāśa-darpaṇa*, p. 92]

Vācaspati-Miśra[10]). Śrīdhara[11]), Caṇḍīdāsa[12]) and other commentators of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. Viśvanātha shows originality in many places.

Dr. Rama has tried to identify the quotations in the *Kāvya-prakāśa-darpaṇa* as far as practicable. He has left some untraced[13] too.

We are thankful to Dr. Rama for presenting to us in print a more or less complete text of the important *Kāvya-*

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10. Vācaspati-mate tu pūrvokta-rītyā niḥśeṣety-ādau vidher lakṣyatvāt / *Kāvya-prakāśa-darpaṇa*, p. 75]

11. Śrīdhara-sāndhi-vigrahikas [t]v āha —— ...... *Kāvya-prakāśa-darpaṇa*, p. 56]

12. ihā ['] smat-[pra] pitāmahā-['] nuja-[sūnu-] kavi-paṇḍita-mukhya-śrī—Caṇḍīdāsa-pādair (°-Caṇḍidāsa-°——sic) uktaṃ——<<paramā-['] rthatas tv akhaṇḍa evā ['] yam raso Vedā-['] nta-prasiddha-Brahma-tattvavad (°-tatva° —— sic) veditavya < < iti / [*Kāvya-prakāśa-darpaṇa*, p. 41]

13. (a) evam evā ['] smat-Sāhitya-darpaṇe (evāsya Sāhitya-°——sic) 'syā ['] laṅkārasya śabda-niṣṭhatvam uktam (uktā —— sic) ——bhujaṅga- kuṇḍalī vyakta- sasi- śubhrāṃśu- śītaguh (°-kuṇḍalī- vyakta śaśī-śubhrāṃśu-°——sic/

jaganty api sadā ['] pāyād avyāc (sadāpāya devyāc——sic) cetoharaḥ (chetoharaḥ——sic) Śivaḥ (śiraḥ——sic) / [*Kāvya-prakāśa-darpaṇa*, p. 138]

The misreadings in the *Kāvya-prakāśa-darpaṇa* have been corrected by us in the light of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, 10/2 Vṛtti.

(b) tad uktaṃ Śārīraka-mīmāṃsā-bhāṣya-vyākhyāne (Śārīrika-°——sic) Vācaspati-Miśraiḥ [——] << api ca para-śabdaḥ paratra lakṣyamāṇa-guṇa-yogena (dṛśyamāna-°——sic vartata iti/yatra prayoktuḥ pratipattuś (°patteḥ——sic) [ca] saṃpratipattiḥ sa gauṇaḥ sa ca bhedapratyaya-puraḥsara>>ity anayor bhedayor ity-ādinā granthena granthakārokte gauṇa-śuddha-vibhāge na kācid anupapattiḥ/ [*Kāvya-prakāśa-darpaṇa*, p. 21]

This citation from Vācaspati-Miśra's "Bhāmatī" [Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press edn., Bombay, 1938, p. 11] is also found in the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, 10/37 Vṛtti.

Such examples may be multiplied at pleasure.

prakāśa-darpaṇa which will surely help us understand Mammaṭa's *Kāvya-prakāśa* from a fresh perspective.

One only wishes the text of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* were also printed in the same book for an easier understanding of the pratīkas in the commentary.

Dr. Rama should have given us an index of the references and quotations, and a practical bibliography of the editions consulted by him.

The misprints should have been corrected carefully.

Lastly, we give vent to our keen appreciation of the noble attempt of Dr. Rama, a young ālaṅkārika of India, to edit and publish three old and hitherto unprinted commentaries on the *Kāvya-prakāśa* in their entirety within four years.

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COLERIDGE AND ABHINAVAGUPTA — by Dr. Shri Krishna Mishra, M.A.D.Litt., Mirzapur, Darbhanga-846004, 1979 p. XXXIX, 576, Rs. 200/-.

Abhinavagupta and Coleridge are the two great philosopher-critics of East and West, sharing many common views on metaphysics and poetics. Both explain poetics on the basis of their philosophy. It is, therefore, very natural and interesting to compare their thoughts for mutual understanding and improvement as well as for making the great Indian contribution intelligible to Western world. From this point of view, the work of Dr. Mishra is an important one.

The logic of both—Coleridge and Abhinavagupta-is Trichotomic on the basis of which they explain the whole

universe. Coleridge based his theory of Esemplastic Imagination on the essential unity of the subject and object "that is a reason why the thing is at all, and why it is there or there rather than elsewhere or at another time "(Table Talk, March 1, 1834). Abhinavagupta also, some eight hundred years before Coleridge maintained the same theory which was earlier propounded by Bhartṛhari and the Trika philosophers. According to Abhinavagupta, the Absolute or Reality is the unity of existence *(Prakāśa)* and conciousness (Vimarśa) or subject and object, word and its meaning. Pure existence is represented by the first letter of the Sanskrit alphabet *a*. Consciousness or the self-projection, that is *visarga* of this very first letter is represented by the last letter *ha* and both together with all the intermediate letters of the alphabet are unified in the *anusvāra* or *bindu*. The whole universe is the projection of the Absolute self. Thus the word *ahaṃ* meaning I is the mother of all letters of the alphabet and contains all of them in its *garbha*. It includes in it the whole alphabet, all objects and all types of knowledge. Coleridge's concept of the Eternal *I AM* is also the same though not so elaborate. He also took *i* against the whole alphabet and maintained that "one word with meaning in it is worth the whole alphabet together". (Letter 388 to Poole).

To Coleridge "Imagination is the prime agent of all human perception". "The activity of *I AM*, when the object is nothing other than I, is called Reason and the form of knowing then is I *AM I*.... The same activity when modified by something, the nature of which is finite becomes of a lower grade because of the impurity of the object of knowledge. And this faculty of the lower grade is called imagination". To Abhinavagupta the eternal *I AM* is the "prime agent of perception everywhere... this is an improvement on Coleridge".

According to Abhinavagupta the soul of poetry is *Rasa*. The union of the eternal consciousnes with its own passion-self is *rasa*. On the poetic plane, the union is between the pure self (subject) and the universal form of emotions *(sthāyi-bhāva)*-object. Through their suggestive power, words lead us to that meaning with which they are essentially unified. Coleridge's concept of symbol is similar to it. He says "Imagination is the reconciliating and mediatory power which incorporates the reason in the images of the sense and organising as it were, the flux of the senses by the permanence and self-circling energies of the reason gives birth to a system of symbols" *(Misc. crit.,*, p. 396) Coleridge's theory of Imagination is not different from Abhinavagupta's theory of *rasa* because "poetic creation and poetic enjoyment are the two types of manifestations of the universal self-consciousness enjoying a basic feeling" (p. 339). Abhinavagupta equates *cit-I AM* with *rasa* and *pratibhā*. Coleridge also defined 'taste' and 'imagination' in similar terms. (B.L.-II 227).

According to the author, both Coleridge and Abhinavagupta agree on the point that "the great business of real unostentatious virtue is not to eradicate any genuine instinct or appetite of human nature, but to establish a concord and unity between all parts of our nature to give a feeling and a passion to our purer intellect and to intellectualise our feelings and passions "(p. 30). Both agree that "all harmony is founded on a relation to rest" (p. 31) and that the value of poetry lies in its "capacity to lead us back to that unity of the eternal *I AM* from which all forms of existence and knowledge are derived" (Coleridge, letter 956).

The work is divided into four books, with several chapters and interchapters including Bibliography and index at the end. Book I is devoted to the exposition of

Coleridge's concept of Imagination in XI chapters. Book II deals with philosophical background of Indian Poetics in 4 chapters. Book III analyses Abhinavagupta's concept of *Rasa* in IX chapters. Book IV is occupied with the comparison of the two philosopher-critics in VIII chapters, the IXth being the author's conclusion.

Critically analysing the theories of Coleridge and Abhinavagupta, showing their similarities, differences and Coleridge's limitations, the author is inclined to conclude that Abhinavagupta is more clear, mature and perfect in his thinking than Coleridge. He always makes an improvement on Coleridge. In him there is "a combinaation of Richards and Coleridge'', and that his is "the most comprehensive and perfect poetics so far known to us" (p. 34).

The voluminous work is the outcome of Dr. Mishra's great labour, deep study and critical thinking. He deserves a special appaluse and thanks for making available, for the first time, an authentic, comprehensive and comparative study of not only Abhinavagupta and Coleridge but of great Indian and Western authors on poetics as well. The work proves author's solid knowledge of Sanskrit poetics. Special mention has to be made for the printing which is extremely neat and clean. I hope, that the book would prove an asset for the scholars of Indian and Western poetics in imparting them a better understanding and proper evaluation of our valuable ancient heritage. Similar studies on the other topics will be eagerly awaited from the pen of the learned author.

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THE VAISNAVA UPANISAD-S, with the commentary of Sri Upanishad Brahmayogin; Ed. by Pt. A. Mahadeva Sastri, The Adyar Library Series, Vol. VIII, Adyar Library and Research Centre, Adyar, Madras-20, 2nd Ed. 1979, Pp. XXVII+422.

The Adyar Library and Research Centre is famous all over the world for the contribution that it has made towards Indological Studies in general and Indian Philosophy in particular. Through its text-editions, translations, critical studies and the Journal *Brahmavidyā*, it endeavours to propagate the message of Indian Philosophy all over the world.

The work under reference is the second edition of its collection of 14 minor Vaiṣṇava Upaniṣads with the commentary of Upaniṣad Brahmayogin which was first published in the year 1923. Other well-known works in this series are collections of *Saṃnyāsa Upaniṣads* and *Yoga Upaniṣads*. The plan of the publication of these minor Upaniṣads with some authentic commentary on them was first drawn by Dr. F. Otto Schrader in 1905 when he was Director of the Adyar Library. In preparing the present edition of Vaiṣṇava Upaniṣads the editor has utilised six different manuscripts of the text of Upaniṣads as well as the printed edition of the collection of 108 Upaniṣads published by the Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay in the year 1913 ("अष्टोत्तरशतोपनिषदः"). Most of the utilised manuscripts belong to the collection of Adyar Library itself. Adyar Library is fortunate in possessing two complete *bhāṣyas* on all the 108 Upaniṣads, one by Appayācārya and the other by Brahmayogin. Of these the latter has been printed in this edition along with the text of the Vaiṣṇava Upaniṣads.

The *bhāṣya* of Brahmaygoin is a very learned and authoritative commentary on the Upaniṣads. Since Brahma-

yogin has commented on all the 108 principal Upaniṣads, he very frequently quotes parallel and corroborating passages from other Upaniṣads as well as from allied Vedic texts. Despite the scholarship and erudition the commentary of Brahmayogin is marked with lucidity of expression and clarity of thought.

In the correctness of text and the neatness of production no other Sanskrit text series can vie the texts of Adyar Library. Both the text and the *bhāṣya* have been printed beautifully, clearly and cleanly on quality paper.

The book shall undoubtedly enhance the value of any institutional or private library.

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साम्ब पुराण (सटीक हिन्दी रूपान्तर) । द्वारा—डा० विनोद चन्द्र श्रीवास्तव, प्राचीन इतिहास, संस्कृति और पुरातत्त्व विभाग, प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय, प्रयाग । इन्डोलॉजिकल पब्लिकेशन्स, इलाहाबाद, १९७५, पृ० १८,४, ३४०, मूल्य ३५.०० ।

भारतीय धर्मसाधना में सूर्य का स्थान अत्यन्त प्राचीन काल से ही बड़ा महत्त्वपूर्ण रहा है । **साम्ब पुराण** में सूर्य को समस्त देवताओं का आत्मा, ब्रह्माण्ड का स्वामी और नियामक, कर्मों का साक्षी और परम तत्व ब्रह्म का पर्याय माना गया है और उनका रहस्य, माहात्म्य, उनकी मूर्त्ति-रूप में उपासना और उसकी विधि वर्णित है । कृष्ण पुत्र साम्ब ने सूर्योपासना द्वारा देवर्षि नारद के शाप से प्राप्त अपने कुष्ठ रोग और पापों से छुटकारा पाया, यह बात इस ग्रन्थ में अनेकशः दोहराई गई है । सूर्य का सम्बन्ध रोगनाशक देव के रूप में सहज प्राप्त है । इसकी परम्परा ऋग्वेद १.५०.१२; १०.३७.४, ७; **तैत्तिरीय संहिता** ४.४३; २.३.७); **अथर्ववेद** १.२२ आदि से प्राप्त होती है । **पंचविंश ब्राह्मण** २३.१६.१२ में उग्रदेव द्वारा कोढ़ से मुक्ति के लिये सूर्य-अनुष्ठान का उल्लेख भी मिलता है । **साम्ब पुराण** भी उसी श्रृंखला की एक कड़ी है । अध्याय २४ में सूर्योपासना से कोढ़, फोड़े-फुन्सी, तथा किसी भी प्रकार की विकलांगता से मुक्ति वर्णित है । यह कथा स्वयं साम्ब ने वर्णित की थी, ऐसा उल्लेख मिलता है (१.१२) । सर्वप्रथम इस कथा को नैमिषारण्य में सूतजी शौनक को सुनाते हैं । बाद में रघुवंशी राजा बृहद्बल मुनि वसिष्ठ से इसको सुनने की इच्छा प्रकट करते हैं । आगे के अध्यायों में सीधे नारद और साम्ब में ही संवाद रूप में विषय वस्तु वर्णित है ।

साम्ब-पुराण में कुल ८४ अध्याय हैं जिनमें सूर्य की श्रेष्ठता, साम्ब-शाप, द्वादश मूर्त्ति, सूर्य रहस्य और माहात्म्य, सूर्य की पत्नी और सन्तान, पूर्वकाल में सूर्य के असह्य तेज से पत्नी संज्ञा और देवताओं का पीडन, विश्वकर्मा द्वारा सूर्य का कर्तन, ब्रह्मा-विष्णु-शिव की सूर्य से एकात्मता, पृथ्वी के द्वीप विभाजन, चन्द्रमा का वृद्धि-क्षय, सूर्य- ग्रहण, साम्ब द्वारा मित्रवन में तपश्चर्या, सूर्य द्वारा मंत्र प्रदान, मित्रवन में सूर्य से निकली सूर्यमूर्ति की स्थापना, शाकद्वीप से १८ ब्राह्मण-कुलों को साम्ब द्वारा लाना, मगों की पूजा-पद्धति, मोक्ष ज्ञान, मन्दिर निर्माण विधि, दारु परीक्षा, प्रतिमा-लक्षण, प्राण-प्रतिष्ठा, ध्वजारोहण, रथयात्रा, षष्ठी-सप्तमी व्रत, रोगनाश के लिये आभिचारिक कृत्य, शत्रुनाश, बीज प्रसव, साधक के व्रत, सिद्धियों के साधन, संन्यास धारण, त्याग, ब्रह्म ज्ञान की श्रेष्ठता, आदि का वर्णन है ।

साम्ब-पुराण में सूर्य के मित्र रूप की उपासना वर्णित है। मित्र अर्थात् सुहृद्। अतः मित्र सूर्य की रक्षण शक्ति का द्योतक है। ऋग्वेद में मित्र एक प्रमुख आदित्य-देवता होते हुये भी प्रायः वरुण के साथ ही आने से उनकी छाया बन कर ही रह गये हैं जबकि ईरान और अवेस्ता में इनकी प्रमुखता है। फिर भी ऋग्वेद में इनके बारे में जितना कुछ है (३–५९) उसमें इनका व्यक्तित्व सुस्पष्ट है। ये "महान् आदित्य" (३.५९.५) हैं जिनके व्रत का पालन करते हुये उनके प्रिय बनने की कामना की गई है (३.५९.३)।

आधुनिक विद्वान सूर्य की मूर्ति-पूजा को ईरानी मग पुरोहितों की देन मानते हैं (डा. वी. सी. श्रीवास्तव, **साम्ब पुराण**, भूमिका, पृष्ठ ४ तथा पृ० ९४, टिप्पणी २)। वैदिककाल में सूर्य, सविता, विष्णु आदि सभी देवों की उपासना मंत्रों के साथ अग्नि में हवि प्रदान करके होती थी। उनके रूप-आकार, पत्नी आदि का तो वर्णन मिलता ही है, उनकी कृपा तथा उनका परम-पद प्राप्त करने की कामना भी व्यक्त की गई है जैसे–

ता वां वास्तू॑न्युश्मसि॒ गम॑ध्यै॒
यत्र॒ गावो॒ भूरि॑शृङ्गा अ॒यासः॑ (ऋग्वेद १.१५४.६)
तथा
आ॒दि॒त्यस्य॑ व्र॒तमु॑पक्षि॒यन्तो॑ व॒यं मि॒त्रस्य॑ सुम॒तौ स्या॑म
(ऋग्वेद ३.५९.३)

इन मंत्रों से स्पष्ट है कि वैदिक काल में ही भक्ति मार्ग की ओर प्रवृत्ति हो चली थी। यहाँ यह उल्लेखनीय है कि ईसापूर्व तीसरी शती से ही देवरूप में श्रीकृष्ण की मूर्तिपूजा होने लगी थी। माध्यमिका, विदिशा, मथुरा में पंचवृष्णियों की (जिनमें साम्ब भी हैं) मूर्तिपूजा के अवशेष मिलते हैं, अतः यह प्रश्न विचारणीय है कि क्या सूर्य की मूर्तिपूजा धार्मिक विकास के क्रम में स्वयं भारत में सहज रूप में विकसित नहीं हो सकती जिसमें बाद में ईरानी पूजा-पद्धति भी सम्मिलित हो गई? **साम्ब पुराण** में स्पष्ट कहा गया है कि देवताओं के शिल्पी विश्वकर्मा ने सूर्य देवता के कहने से यंत्र पर चढ़ा कर उनका रूप सम्पादन किया (११.४१; १२.७) और उन्हीं के कहने से ही साम्ब ने मूर्ति तथा मन्दिर निर्माण कराया (२४.२९.३२)। साम्ब ने सूर्य-आराधना के लिये जिस स्तोत्र का जप किया वह चारों वेदों और पुराणों से सम्मत था (२४.७)। अपने तप और मंत्र-जप के प्रभाव से ही साम्ब ने "चन्द्रभागा नदी में स्नान के उपरान्त सूर्य की देदीप्यमान मूर्ति को देखा जो मानों जलसमूह द्वारा उठाई जा रही थी" (२६.३) जिसे साम्ब ने विधिपूर्वक मित्रवन में स्थापित किया (२६. ४, १६)। "विश्वकर्मा ने सूर्य के आदेश से कल्पवृक्ष से मूर्ति निर्मित कर हिमालय पर उसका निर्माण कर चन्द्रभागा नदी में उतार दिया" (२६. ११–१२)। मग ब्राह्मणों

से अपना परिचय देते हुये साम्ब कहते हैं—"मैं विष्णु का पुत्र साम्ब हूँ, चन्द्रभागा नदी के तट पर मैंने सूर्य की स्थापना की है और उन्हीं के द्वारा मैं आपके पास भेजा गया हूँ" (२६.४५–४६)। इन सबसे स्पष्ट है कि मूर्ति और मन्दिर निर्माण सूर्य की कृपा से साम्ब द्वारा जम्बू द्वीप में ही हुआ। बाद में सूर्य पूजा के लिये शाकद्वीप से मग पुरोहितों के समस्त अठारह कुल लाये गये क्योंकि "देवता की, उपासना में आये द्रव्य से ब्राह्मी क्रियायें सम्पन्न नहीं होतीं" (२६.२१)। शाकद्वीप की स्थिति सामान्यतया ईरान में बताई जाती है। साम्ब पुराण में वर्णन है—"लवण सागर के उस पार और क्षीर सागर से घिरा ऐसा वह शाकद्वीप इस जम्बू द्वीप की अपेक्षा श्रेष्ठतर सुना जाता है.....शाक द्वीप में मैं ही भास्कर हूँ" (२६.२६–३८)। मग पुरोहितों का भारत आगमन शक-कुषाणों के विदेशी आक्रमणों से जोड़ा जाता है। पर यह बात ध्यान में रखने योग्य है कि साम्ब पुराण में इस बात को बार बार दोहराया गया है कि वे मग ब्राह्मण "वेदवादी और पुराणोक्त विधि का पालन करने वाले थे" (२६.३०–३६)। इसके साथ ही यह बात भी विचारणीय है कि **साम्ब पुराण** में सूर्य देवाधिदेव और परम तत्त्व ब्रह्म हैं और ब्रह्मा, विष्णु, शिव से उनकी एकात्मता भी प्रतिपादित की गई है (१४.१३; १७.१७) (मध्य प्रदेश, उत्तर प्रदेश, गुजरात, राजस्थान से "सूर्य हरिहर पितामह" की अनेकों संयुक्त मूर्तियाँ प्राप्त भी हुई हैं) जबकि ईरानी परम्परा में सूर्य-अग्नि की संयुक्त उपासना थी। इसके अतिरिक्त एक और बात भी महत्त्वपूर्ण है। इस ग्रन्थ में साधक द्वारा प्राणायाम, धारणा, प्रत्याहार, ध्यान से चित्त शुद्ध करके, योगमार्ग से पैर के अँगूठे से प्रारम्भ कर क्रमशः नाभि, हृदय, मस्तक, आदित्य-मंडल तथा उससे भी आगे सूर्य का परम पद सूर्यमण्डल पहुँचने की बात कही गई है। यही साधक का मोक्ष है (४१.८)। क्या ईरानी परम्परा में भी ऐसी ही मान्यता है? विद्वानों द्वारा यह बात विचारणीय है। मथुरा संग्रहालय में संगृहीत मूर्त्तियाँ नं० डी ४६ तथा २६६ को सूर्य मूर्त्ति माना जाता है। भारी ट्यूनिक, ऊँचे बूटों आदि के साथ ये मूर्त्तियाँ कुषाण राजा की तरह लगती हैं जैसा कि रोजेनफील्ड का मत भी है। नीचे अग्नि-वेदिका है। ये सभी बातें भारतीय परम्परा के विरुद्ध पड़ती हैं। अगर ये सूर्य मूर्त्तियाँ हैं तो विशुद्ध राजनीतिक प्रभाव की द्योतक प्रतीत होती हैं। सम्भवतः भारतीय सौरधर्म पर ईरानी प्रभाव का सही आकलन अभी शेष ही है।

साम्ब पुराण का अभी तक उचित सम्पादन नहीं हुआ है और जो है भी, वह दुर्लभ है। ऐसी स्थिति में डा० वी० सी० श्रीवास्तव जी ने इसका सरल और बोधगम्य हिन्दी अनुवाद प्रस्तुत कर जिज्ञासु विद्वानों को इसकी विषयवस्तु से परिचित कराने का महनीय और पुण्य कार्य किया है। ग्रन्थ के साथ आलोचनात्मक विद्वत्तापूर्ण भूमिका तथा स्थान स्थान पर टिप्पणियों के कारण यह ग्रन्थ अत्यन्त उपादेय बन गया है। ग्रन्थ के अन्त में पाठकों की सुविधा के लिये शब्दानुक्रमणिका

भी है। डा० श्रीवास्तवजी ने आजकल साम्ब पुराण का सम्पादन-कार्य भी अपने हाथ में लिया है। आशा है, वह शीघ्र ही प्रकाशित होकर सबको सुलभ हो सकेगा। अगर मूल साथ में होता तो प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ की उपादेयता और बढ़ जाती ।

ग्रन्थ के सम्बन्ध में एक बात और। लगता है, ग्रन्थ का प्रकाशन अत्यन्त शीघ्रता में हुआ है क्योंकि मुद्रण सम्बन्धी अशुद्धियाँ पर्याप्त मात्रा में रह गई हैं। आशा है, आगामी संस्करण और सुन्दर रूप में सामने आयेगा। अन्त में, इस महत्वपूर्ण अनुवाद के लिये लेखक को पुनः बधाई।

गंगानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठ **माया मालवीय**
इलाहाबाद

प्राचीन भारतीय वैयक्तिक एवं सामाजिक मूल्यबोध (शान्ति पर्व के विशेष सन्दर्भ में) लेखक– अतुल कुमार सिनहा, यू० जी० सी० रिसर्च फेलो, प्राचीन इतिहास, संस्कृति एवं पुरातत्त्व विभाग, इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय, इलाहाबाद। प्रकाशक– उमा प्रकाशन २३३, पुराना बैरहना, इलाहाबाद, पृ० १४४, मूल्य ५० रु० प्रथम संस्करण १९८१–८२ ई० ।

आचार और विचार क्रमशः धर्म और दर्शन के रूप में विकसित हुए हैं। इस कर्मभूमि भारतवर्ष की संस्कृति स्थूल रूप से इन्हीं दोनों स्तम्भों पर टिकी हुई है। यह करना चाहिये, यह नहीं करना चाहिये––इस तरह के विधि निषेधों के विवेचन धर्मशास्त्रों में उपलब्ध होते हैं। अतः आचारशास्त्र का भी मूल धर्मशास्त्र ही है अथवा दोनों एक दूसरे के पर्याय हैं।

महाभारत धर्मशास्त्र का आकर माना गया है। विविध धर्मशास्त्र ग्रन्थों में प्रमाण रूप में स्मृति एवं पुराण की तरह **महाभारत** के वचन उद्धृत हैं । पुनश्च **महाभारत** में भी शान्ति पर्व का अलग ही महत्त्व है। आज भी बङ्गाल में पितरों की सुख शान्ति के लिए आद्य श्राद्ध के अवसर पर इस शान्ति पर्व का पारायण किया जाता है। अन्यथा भी भारत के विभिन्न प्रान्तों में वृद्धगण आस्तिकता के कारण शान्ति पर्व का पाठ करते पाये जाते हैं।

धर्म का स्वरूप समयानुसार परिवर्तित होता रहा है। यही कारण है कि सनातन धर्म का स्वरूप देश तथा काल के प्रभाव से अपने वैविध्य में भी मर्यादा को नहीं खो पाया है, सनातन रूप से चलता आ रहा है।

महाभारत के शान्ति पर्व के आधार पर प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ की रचना हुई है।

लेखक ने आचार शास्त्रीय विषयों का ऐतिहासिक स्वरूप एवं आधुनिक काल में इसकी उपादेयता का विचार शोधपूर्ण दृष्टि से प्रस्तुत किया है । लेखक की शैली वर्णनात्मक न होकर विश्लेषणात्मक है तथा भाषा सरल, सुबोध एवं प्रवाहमयी है । विषय की तल प्रवेशिता में लेखक सफल हुए हैं। प्रत्येक वक्तव्य साधार एवं साधिकार प्रस्तुत किया गया है जो शोधकार्य का प्रथम गुण है। यही कारण है कि लेखक की पहली रचना होने पर भी विद्वानों ने इसका उचित आदर किया है । इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय के पुरातत्त्व विभागाध्यक्ष प्रो० जसवन्त सिंह नेगी का प्राक्कथन, डा० ओम प्रकाश की प्रस्तावना, डा० गोविन्द चन्द्र पाण्डेय एवं डा० अम्बादत्त पन्त की सम्मति से यह ग्रन्थ अलङ्कृत हुआ है। अन्ताराष्ट्रिय ख्याति प्राप्त उपर्युक्त विद्वानों की शुभाशंसा लेखक के लिए यहाँ वरदान स्वरूप है तथा प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ की प्रामाणिकता का परिचायक है ।

यह ग्रन्थ पाँच भागों में विभक्त है। (१) प्राकृतयुग–प्राथमिक चरम की पूर्व मान्यता। (२) वर्णव्यवस्था का उद्गम और विकास (३) सामाजिक स्थायित्व का साधक क्षात्र धर्म (४) वैयक्तिक उत्कर्ष की पराकाष्ठा और उसकी प्राप्यता। (५) वैयक्तिक एवं सामाजिक जीवन का सामञ्जस्य सूत्र–धर्म ।

लेखक ने इन जटिल विषयों का गम्भीरतापूर्वक अध्ययन किया है। धर्म-शास्त्र, अर्थशास्त्र तथा भाष्यकारों के विचारों से अपने वक्तव्यों को सम्पुष्ट करते हुए लेखक ने अध्ययन की व्यापकता तथा गंभीरता का परिचय दिया है । अतएव लेखक साधुवाद का पात्र है ।

प्रवाचक
गंगानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठ, **किशोर नाथ झा**
इलाहाबाद

धर्म की हिन्दू अवधारणा, लेखक–डा० रणजीत सिंह । प्रकाशक– सेण्ट्रल बुक डिपो, इलाहाबाद, १९७७, पृ० XIII, ३१३ मूल्य २२.५० ।

आदिकाल से ही भारतीय संस्कृति, साहित्य, दर्शन, कला, संगीत आदि का मूल है धर्म जो उसे अन्य सभी देशों से अलग करता है । वह समग्र जीवन में इतना घुला-मिला है जैसे देह में प्राण, पुष्प में सुगन्धि । सम्भवतः इसी कारण उसकी परिभाषा तथा व्याख्या करना कठिन रहा है । "धर्मस्य तत्त्वं निहितं गुहायाम्"। अंग्रेजी का 'रिलिजन' शब्द धर्म का पर्याय नहीं हो सकता । धर्म का क्षेत्र और व्यापक है। "धारणात् धर्ममित्याहुः" इस अर्थ में धर्म पूरे मानव-जीवन से, जन्म से लेकर मृत्यु-पर्यन्त सम्बद्ध है। वह उसे पशुत्व से ऊपर उठा कर श्रेय की ओर उन्मुख करता है जिससे उसका इहलोक सुखमय होता है और वह

आत्यन्तिक सुख के मार्ग की ओर अग्रसर होता है। धर्म जहाँ समाप्त होता है, वहीं से अध्यात्म का प्रारम्भ होता है।

धर्म सदा विकसनशील रहा है। डा० रणजीत सिंह ने प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ में धर्म की अवधारणा एवं उसके विविध पक्षों के विकास का–विशेषकर सामाजिक एवं नैतिक-विवेचन ऐतिहासिक परिप्रेक्ष्य में, प्रारम्भ से लेकर बारहवीं शताब्दी तक के ग्रन्थों यथा वेद, पुराण, स्मृति, महाकाव्यादि के आधार पर करने का स्तुत्य प्रयास किया है।

समग्र ग्रन्थ नौ अध्यायों में विभक्त है। अध्याय १ में धर्म की अवधारणा और स्वरूप, अध्याय २ में धर्म के विविध स्रोत, अध्याय ३ में धर्म के सार्वभौम स्वरूप का महत्व और विवेचन, अध्याय ४ में वर्णधर्म, अध्याय ५ में आश्रमधर्म एवं संस्कार, अध्याय ६ में गुणधर्म, अध्याय ७ में धर्म के अन्य प्रकार, अध्याय ८ में धर्म के निर्धारक तत्त्व और पुरुषार्थ और अध्याय ९ में पूर्वमध्यकालीन धर्म-अवधारणा में परिवर्धन, संशोधन, परिवर्तन के कारणों, कलि वर्ज्य और ग्रामधर्म का विवेचन किया गया है। अन्त में सहायक ग्रन्थ-सूची और अनुक्रमणिका दी गई है जिससे जिज्ञासु पाठकों के लिये ग्रन्थ की उपयोगिता और बढ़ गई है। विषय वस्तु, भाषा शैली एवं बाह्य कलेवर आदि सभी दृष्टियों से प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ एक अच्छा प्रकाशन है। लेखक इसके लिये बधाई का पात्र है।

गंगानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठ **माया मालवीय**
इलाहाबाद

संस्कृतवर्णानां स्वरूपमुत्पत्तिश्च–लेखक : डा० लड्डुकेश्वर शतपथी शर्मा। प्रकाशिका : श्रीमती विष्णु प्रिय शतपथी, घोड़ा बाजार, पुरी, ओड़िशा मूल्यम् चतुःपंचाशद् रूप्यकाणि।

ग्रन्थोऽयं यादवपुरविश्वविद्यालये पीएच० डी० इत्युपाधये स्वीकृत-शोध-प्रबन्ध-भूतः। ग्रन्थस्यास्य प्रणेता डा०लड्डुकेश्वर शर्मा शतपथी न केवलं व्याकरणसाहित्य-शास्त्रयोरुद्भटः विद्वान्, अपितु प्रकृष्टो भाषाविद् शिक्षा-वेदाङ्गस्य प्रातिशाख्य-ग्रन्थानां मर्मज्ञ इति ग्रन्थेनामुना सुव्यक्तं भवति। परिच्छेदपञ्चकेषु विभक्तेऽस्मिन् प्रबन्धे प्रत्येकं वर्णस्य स्वभावः वर्णोद्गमप्रकारः, वर्णोच्चारणप्रसङ्गे बाह्याः आभ्यन्तराश्च प्रयत्नाः केषाञ्चिद् विशिष्टानां वर्णानां परिचय इतीमे विषयाः सुविवेचिताः। अमीषां विषयाणां विवेचनप्रसङ्गे विषयवैशद्यार्थं वाग्यन्त्रस्य चित्रम् अग्रजिह्वाया पश्चजिह्वाया स्थितीनां सूचकमपरं चित्रद्वयमिति चित्रत्रयम् आभ्यन्तरप्रयत्नानां

वर्गीकरणसूचकं मानस्वराणां सूचकं च रेखाचित्रद्वयम् अपराणि चैकादशकोष्ठकानि (charts) यथास्थानं निबद्धानि सन्ति ।

प्रत्येकं विषयविवेचनप्रसङ्गे विविधानां प्राचीनानामर्वाचीनानां च विदुषां सिद्धान्तानां समुपस्थापनपूर्वकं तेषां सप्रौढ़िसमीक्षाग्रन्थममुं प्रशस्ततमं प्रमाणयति । तद्यथा वर्णानामुद्गमप्रकारो यथात्र सप्रमाणमुपस्थापितः, यथा वा स्वराणां विवरणं निबद्धं, यथा वा ऋवर्णस्य ऐकारौकारयोरुच्चारणप्रकारः समुपस्थापितः, न स एकत्र क्वचित्प्राचीनेषु ग्रन्थेषु नवाऽवाच्येषु ध्वनिविज्ञानग्रन्थेषु द्रष्टुं शक्यः । अत्रैव प्रसंगे एचां ह्रस्वत्वमपि ग्रन्थकृता निर्णीतम् । अत्र प्रसङ्गे स्मरणीयमिदं यत्पाणिनीया एचां ह्रस्वत्वं नाङ्गीकुर्वन्ति तत एवं तेषां मते एचां द्वादश एव प्रभेदा भवन्ति नाष्टादश । वर्णानामुच्चारणस्थाननिर्णयप्रसङ्गे डा० शतपथी महाभागेन कृतं विवरणं समेषामपि ध्वनिविज्ञानाध्येतृणां कृते पथप्रदर्शकम् । ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् 'मूर्धास्थानम् (उच्चारणस्थानमपि) किम् ?' इतीमं प्रश्नमुपस्थाप्य ध्वनिविज्ञानिनाम् परस्परं विरोधिमतद्वयं प्रस्तुय लेखकेन प्राच्यानां पाश्चात्यानां च विदुषां सिद्धान्तान्समालोच्य योऽयं निर्णयो विहितः स सर्वानप्यतिशेते । इयमेव स्थितिः संवृद्विवृन्निर्णयेऽन्येषु च बहुषु स्थलेषु यत्र यत्र कुत्रापि द्रष्टुं शक्यते ।

अत्र ग्रन्थे ग्रन्थकृता यद्यपि महता परिश्रमेण विविधेषु शास्त्रेषु सम्यगवगाहनं विधाय ग्रन्थमिमं प्रामाणिकतमं विधातुं प्रयतितं तथापि यथावसरं जैनमतं बौद्धमतं वा प्रस्तोतुं तद् विरोधिनां नैयायिकानां वैयाकरणानां वा ग्रन्थेभ्य उद्धरणानि प्रस्तुतानि तदिदं न शोभावहम् । कस्यापि सिद्धान्तानां समुपस्थापने तद्विरोधिभिः पूर्वपक्षतया उपस्थितानि वचांसि न कदापि प्रामाण्यतया स्वीकारार्हाणि भवितुमर्हन्ति । ग्रन्थकृता त्वनेकधा तथाकृतम् ।

सामग्र्येण समीक्ष्यमाणेऽस्मिन्नभूतपूर्वे ग्रन्थे ग्रन्थकृतः श्रमः विवेचनशैली च सुतरां प्रशंसार्हे । तस्य तत्त्वावगाहिन्या प्रतिभया कृतः सिद्धान्तनिर्णयोऽभिनन्दनीयः । प्रकाशकश्चास्य महत्त्ववतो ग्रन्थस्य प्रकाशनाय वर्धापनमर्हति ।

प्रवाचक **ब्रह्ममित्र अवस्थी**
लाल बहादुर शास्त्री केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठ
प्रयाग ।

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गैर्वाणीगौरवग्रन्थमाला

गीर्वाणवाणीगौरवभूतप्रत्ननूतनलघुग्रन्थानां सङ्कलनम्

गङ्गानाथझाकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठशोधपत्रिकायाः
परिशिष्टम्

तृतीयं प्रसूनम्

शिल्हण कृतं

शान्तिशतकम्

मूल संपादिका
डॉ० शोभारानी मजूमदार

पुनरीक्षिका
डॉ० माया मालवीय

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शिल्हणकृतं शान्तिशतकम्

डा० शोभारानी मजूमदार

लखनऊ

सुभाषितसंग्रहस्य एकः प्रकारः नीतिनाम्ना व्यवह्रियते । नीयन्ते संलभ्यन्ते उपायादयः, ऐहिकामुष्मिकार्था वा अनया[1], सदसद्विवेकपरिपूरिते सन्मार्गे नयति वा या सा नीतिः[2], इत्यादिभिः व्युत्पत्तिभिः नीतिशब्दः पुरुषार्थचतुष्टयप्रसंगे मार्गदर्शकभूतेषु वाक्येषु रूढः । अपि वा नीयते व्यवस्थाप्यते स्वेषु स्वेषु सदाचारेषु चतुर्वर्णाश्रमलक्षणो लोको यस्यां सा नीतिः[3] इत्यादि व्युत्पत्त्या सद्व्यवहारेषु व्यवस्थापकानि वाक्यानि नीतिपदानि उच्यन्ते । नीतिवाक्यानां विषयेषु नीतिपदस्य प्रयोगः वैदिककालादेव आरब्ध आसीदिति भवा सुनीतिरुत वामनीतिः[4] ऋजुनीतिर्नो वरुणो नयतु[5] इत्यादिभिः नीतिपदप्रयोगैः वक्तुं शक्यते । जयादित्यो वामनः सामदामाद्युपायान् नीतिपदार्थानाह ।[6] पाश्चात्येषु विद्वत्स्वपि नीतिशास्त्रपरम्परा सुतरां व्यराजत तत्रेदं शास्त्रं एथिक्स (Ethics) इति नाम्ना व्यवहृतम् ।[7] यद्यपि तत्र शास्त्रे पथप्रदर्शकभूतानां निर्देशानां न तथा निवेचनं कृतमस्ति, यथा शुभविषये दार्शनिकं विवेचनं विहितम् ।

इयं नीतिकाव्यपरम्परा सुभाषितसंग्रहपरम्पराक्षेत्रमनुवर्तमानापि तथा सर्वथा भिन्नैवास्ति । यतः सुभाषितसंग्रहेषु सामान्यतोऽनेकेषां विदुषां पद्यानां संग्रहः कृतो भवति । नीतिकाव्यानि तु न तथा भवन्ति संग्रहभूतानि । इमानि एकस्य कस्यापि कवेरेव प्रतिभाप्रसूतिभूतानि भवन्ति ।[8] तद् यथा चाणक्यस्य नीतिशास्त्रं, शुक्रस्य बृहस्पतेश्च नीतिशास्त्रं,

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१. संस्कृत शब्दार्थ कौस्तुभ—श्री झा तथा चतुर्वेदी पृ० ६११ ।

२. मोनियर विलियम्स डिक्शनरी ।

३. नीतिवाक्यामृतम् ।

४. ऋग्वेद—६।४७।७ ।

५. तत्रैव १।९०।१ ।

६. काशिका—५।३।७७ ।

७. नीतिप्रवेशिका ।

८. Anthologies are collections of verses composed by different authors, while the gnomic and didactic poems are collections of verses composed by one author only.
(म० सु० सं० पृष्ठ (cxiii) वी० वरदाचार्य—पृष्ठ १०३ ।

कामन्दकीयनीतिसारः, विदुरनीतिः, भर्तृहरिशतकानि, दर्पदलनम्, चारुचर्याशतकम् इत्यादि। एषु नीतिकाव्येषु बार्हस्पत्यं नीतिशास्त्रं नाद्यापि सुलभम्।[1] विदुरनीतिस्तु कृष्णद्वैपायनव्यासकृतस्य महाभारतस्यांशभूता। कदाचित् नीतिसंग्रहेष्वपि द्वि त्रीणि पद्यानि इतस्ततोऽपि संकलितानि दृश्यन्ते। आचारप्राधान्यात् नीतिग्रन्थेषु नीतिवाक्येषु वा सर्वत्रापि धर्मदर्शनयोः प्रभावः परिलक्ष्यते।[2] सर्वेऽपि धर्मग्रन्थाः नीतिविषयका एव; यद्यपि नीतिशिक्षासु सामाजिकसद्भावं, दैनिकव्यवहारं राजनीतिं वाऽधिकृत्यापि नीतिग्रन्थानां रचना कृता भवति। संस्कृतवाङ्मये पशुपक्षीणां दृष्टान्तावगूहनेन सह पंचतन्त्रहितोपदेशप्रभृतयः नीतिग्रन्थाः रचिताः। बौद्धवाङ्मये जातकग्रन्था अपि एतादृशा एव यत्र पशवः पक्षिण इतरे वा जन्तवः कथानायकभूताः समुपनिबद्धाः।

महाभारते भीष्मविदुरयोरुपदेशः[3] रामायणे लक्ष्मणं प्रति रामस्योपदेशः ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे सहस्रार्जुनं प्रति दत्तात्रेयस्योपदेशः शिवपुराणे शिवयोगिनः राजकुमारं प्रत्युपदेशश्च उपदेशकाव्ये एव परिगणितुं शक्यते। अत्र काव्येषु साक्षात् उपदेश एव निबद्धो भवति। श्रीमद्भागवते कपिलप्रह्लादयोः संवादोऽपि नीतिकाव्यपरम्परायां परिगणनयोग्यः यत्र संवादमाध्यमेनैव नीतिविषयाः शिक्षाः निबद्धाः सन्ति।

नीतिकाव्यभेदाः

नीतिकाव्यानां विभागः देशकालाद्यधिकृत्य अनेकधा कर्तुं शक्यते। यथा एकदेशीयानीतिः, सार्वदेशीया नीतिः, आपद्नीतिः, शाश्वतनीतिः, वैयक्तिकीनीतिः, पारिवारिकीनीतिः, सामाजिकीनीतिः, राष्ट्रियानीतिः, अन्तर्राष्ट्रियानीतिः। विषयमधिकृत्यापि नीतिकाव्यस्य विभागः कर्त्तुं शक्यते। यथा—युद्धनीतिः, शासननीतिः, अर्थनीतिः, व्यापारनीतिः, शिक्षानीतिः, विज्ञाननीतिश्चेति। एवं क्रियमाणो विभागः अनन्ततामापद्येत इति सामान्यतः नीतिकाव्यानि चतुर्धा विभज्यन्ते—धर्मनीतिः, अर्थनीतिः, कामनीतिः, मोक्षनीतिश्चेति। यतो हि पुरुषार्थाः चत्वार एव स्वीक्रियन्ते इति एकैकं पुरुषार्थमधिकृत्य तत्साधनोपायभूता नीतिरपि चतुर्धैव विभज्येत इति न भवेत् काचन विप्रतिपत्तिः। भर्तृहरिणा स्वीयनीतिकाव्यनिर्माणप्रसंगे धर्मार्थैवेकत्रैव कृत्वा नीतिशतके समावेशितौ। कामनीतिश्च तेन श्रृंगारशतके, मोक्षनीतिश्च वैराग्यशतके निबद्धा। तमनुसरता पुरुषेण नीतिकाव्यानि त्रिष्वपि भागेषु विभक्तुं शक्यन्ते-धर्मार्थनीतिः, कामनीतिः, मोक्षनीतिश्च। शान्तिशतकं एषु विभागेषु चरमे परिगणनार्हम्। यतो ह्यत्र प्रायशः मोक्षसाधनहेतुभूतं वैराग्यमुद्भावयितुं रागस्य आलम्बनभूतेषु पदार्थेषु वितृष्णा समुत्पादितास्ति। शिल्हणकृतमिदं नीतिकाव्यं सुचिरादेव विद्वत्सु मनोहारितया समादृतम्।

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१. सं० सा० सं० इति० पृ० ८१४, क्ला० सं० पृ० ११४, म० सु० सं० पृ० (cxiii)।

२. क्ला० सं० लि० पृष्ठ ३११।

३. एच० ओ० इ० लि० भाग—१ पृष्ठ १४३।

इदं चात्रावधेयं यद् यद्यपि नीतिकाव्येषु सामान्यतः स्वीयानामेव काव्यानां (पद्यानां) संकलनं भवति, परमत्र शान्तिशतके संकलिता अनेके श्लोकाः भर्तृहरिकृते वैराग्यशतके समुपलभ्यन्ते। यतो हि भर्तृहरिः षष्ठशताब्द्यां सम्बभूव, शिल्हणश्च त्रयोदशशताब्द्यां इति शिल्हणेन वैराग्यशतकात् पद्यसंग्रहः कृतः इति निर्विवादं स्वीकर्तुं शक्यते। इदमेव च परेषामपि विदुषामभिमतम्।

शान्तिशतकस्य विषयवस्तु

अत्र शान्तिशतके षडुत्तरमेकशतं पद्यानां निबद्धमस्ति, तानि च चतुर्षु परिच्छेदेषु विभक्तानि। एतानि च परितापोपशान्तिः, विवेकोदयः, कर्तव्योपदेशः, ब्रह्मप्राप्तिरित्यभिधेयानि सन्ति, यत्र समेषामपि पद्यानां समावेशः कृतोऽस्ति।[1]

अत्र ग्रन्थे परितापोपशान्तिनाम्नः प्रथमस्य परिच्छेदस्य प्रथमे पद्ये रचनाप्रकारेण देवेभ्योऽपि बलवत्तरं कर्म इति प्रतिपाद्य कविना कर्मभ्यो नतिर्विहिता।[2] द्वितीये च कविः स्वनाम निर्देशपूर्वकं क्रियमाणं ग्रन्थं सन्तोषजनकं संसारसागरदुःखविनाशबीजञ्चेति प्रस्तावेन सह विदधते इति निर्दिशति। अत्र पद्ये काव्यकर्मणि प्रवृत्तः कविः स्वक्रियमाणां क्रियां लिडन्तेन आख्यातेन (विदधे पदेन) निर्दिशति। अयं च लिट् परोक्षभूतार्थे प्रयुज्यते न वर्तमानार्थे, न वा भविष्यदर्थे न वा वर्तमानसमीपस्थे कस्मिन्नपि काले। अत्रैव च शिल्हणपदविशेषणभूतः प्रकृतिसुन्दरशुद्धबुद्धिः पदोऽपि प्रयुक्तः, यः शिल्हणपदवाच्यं कविमेव विशेषयति। तदिदं सर्वमपि अद्भुततया विचार्यतामेवापतति। तृतीयाद् पद्यादारम्य त्रिंशत्तमं पद्यं यावत् अष्टाविंशतिषु पद्येषु उपभोगयोग्यानि वस्तूनि नितरां जुगुप्सार्हाणि इति प्रतिपादितम्। अत्र प्रसंगे कविना इदं निर्दिष्टं यत् शलभस्तु दाहवेदनामजानन् दीपदहनं विशति, मीनो बडिशपिशितमजानन्नेवाश्नाति, परं पुरुषस्तु जानन्नपि विपज्जालजटिलान् कामान् कामयते इत्यद्भुतम्।[3]

अत एव मुनिजनाः इदं सर्वं त्यजन्तः नितराम्ब्रह्मणि रताः भवन्ति। साधारणाश्च तत्र विषयेष्वेव रमन्ते।[4] यः पुरुषः ब्रह्मभूतं देवं नारायणं विहाय कामान् कामयते, तेषां तु जन्म एव निरर्थकं भवति।[5] एकत्र च रेतशोणितयोः परिणतिभूतं मृत्योरास्पदं रोगादिविश्रामभूमिभूतं शरीरं ये पुत्रकाम्यन्ति स्त्रीयन्ति वा, ते नूनं विवेकरहिता इति प्रतिपा-

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१. कम्पै० टू० सं० लि० पृ० ९३, म० सु० सं० पृ०।

२. श्लोक संख्या ७।

३. श्लोक ७।

४. श्लोक ९।

५. श्लोक ११, १२।

दितम् ।[१] तदेवं अत्र प्रथमपरिच्छेदे सर्वथा मोहो हेयः, तृष्णा छेद्या, सन्तोषामृतरसः पेयः ब्रह्म चोपास्यं इति प्रतिपादितम् ।

षट्विंशतिपद्यात्मके विवेकोदयनामके द्वितीये परिच्छेदे जगदसारं सकलो जीवलोकः स्वप्नेन्द्रजालसदृशः, अमृतमिव प्रतीयमानं स्त्रीरूपं विषमयं, विषयाः विषभूताः, रागाधिकरण-भूताः पुत्रकलत्रादयः नश्वराः इति न क्वापि रागो मोहो द्वेषो वा विधेयः ।[२] सर्वा अपि सम्पदः नश्वराः इति तत्र मदो न प्रशस्यः[३] । ये जलतृणांकुरसंयुक्तां वनस्थलीं प्राप्यैव परितुष्टाः भवन्ति, त एव यथार्थतः धीराः ।[४] ये जनाः सार्वभौमभवनभूतं निवासयोग्यं वनम् अयत्नलभ्यं फलमूलादिभोजनं च विहाय विषयेन्द्रियचौरैः मुष्यमाणाः गृहेषु वसन्ति, नूनं ते बालाः बालिशाश्च ।[५] अतः विघ्नकृत् पुत्रदारादिसंसारः आशापाशश्च हेयः ।[६]

'कर्त्तव्योपदेश' नामके तृतीये परिच्छेदे षट्विंशतिपद्यानि सन्ति । अत्र देहः भवच्छेदाय प्राप्तः, यावदयं व्याधिजरामृत्युभिर्नापिह्लियते तावत् प्रतिक्षणं जाग्रता सता पुरुषेण भवाब्धिं तर्त्तुं प्रयत्नो विधेयः[७] । अत्र जगति यदि कदाचित् कश्चित् शब्दैः मनो व्यथयति, तत्र रोषो न विधेयः । यतः स पुरुषः स्वयं चारित्रतः स्खलन्नपि मां निर्दोषं विधातुमेव प्रयतते इति स क्षन्तव्य एव[८] । अयं संसारः दुःखांगारकतप्तः महानस इवास्ति अत्र विषयामिषेषु मानसमार्जा-रस्य पतनं विनाशकरमेव[९] । यदि चित्तरूपी मत्स्यो यौवनजलसंकुले युवतिजलधौ अवतरति मनोभूःकैवर्तः तं नूनं बद्ध्वा निगडे क्षेप्स्यति[१०] इत्यादीनि बहुविधानि वैराग्यकराणि वचांस्यत्र निबद्धानि सन्ति, यानि विषयजालसमन्वितात् जगत्कान्तारात् मानसमृगमवरुध्योपशमादि-फलसमन्विते तत्त्वज्ञानादियवांकुरविपुले ब्रह्मणि विश्रमयितुं प्रेरयितुमलम् ।

ब्रह्मप्राप्तिनामके परिच्छेदे चतुर्विंशतिपद्यानि सन्ति । तत्र प्रायशः सर्वेष्वपि पद्येषु श्रियः न निर्वृतिप्रदाः, ताभिरपि तावती एव तृप्तिः यावती अयत्नसुलभैः फलमूलैर्भवति । श्रियः प्राप्त्यै रक्षायै महान् प्रयत्नो विधेयो भवति । फलमूलादीनि च अयत्नसुलभानि इति एतान्येव

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१. श्लोक २७ ।
२. श्लोक ३१, ३२, ३३, ३४, ३५, ३६ ।
३. श्लोक ४०, ४१ ।
४. श्लोक ४२, ४३, ४४, ४५, ४६ ।
५. श्लोक ५०, ५१, ५४ ।
६. श्लोक ५५, ५६ ।
७. श्लोक ५७, ५८, ५९, ६० ।
८. श्लोक ६६, ६७ ।
९. श्लोक ७ ।
१०. श्लोक ७३ ।

प्राप्य नरेण सन्तुष्टेन भाव्यम्, सर्वथा च विषयेभ्यो मनः निरुद्ध्य परमानन्दसन्दोहस्रोतोभूत ब्रह्म समुपास्यम् । तत्त्वविदः योगीश्वराः आशातृष्णारागद्वेषमोहादीन् हात्वा तमेव समुपासते ।

शान्तिशतके उद्धृता कवयः काव्यानि च

अत्र शान्तिशतके बहूनि पद्यानि भर्तृहरिकृतात् वैराग्यशतकात् उद्धृतानि, अनेकानि पद्यानि च हर्षदेव - शालिवाहन - शूल - श्रीधरदास - विद्याकर - वल्लभदेव (बल्लाल) कृष्णमिश्र - नग्नाचार्य - लक्ष्मीधर - गुणाकरभद्र - धर्मकीर्ति - सत्यबोधप्रभृतीनामपि समुद्धृतानि सन्ति ।

शिल्हणस्य स्थितिकालः

काश्मीरेषु कविषु कल्हण - जल्हण - बिल्हणप्रभृतयः सुविदिताः सन्ति । तत्सदृशं नाम वहन् शिल्हणोऽपि काश्मीरदेशोद्भवः इति वक्तुं शक्यते[1] । विन्टरनित्जमतानुसारमयं काश्मीरः सन्नपि वंगदेशे निवसन् साहित्यसाधनां व्यदधात्[2] । एतस्य नाम विषये क्वचिद् वैमत्यं दृश्यते यथा पिशलमहाभागा बिल्हण इति स्वीकरोति, स्टेनबॉकविन्टरनित्जमहोदयावपि अमुं प्रश्नं विचारयतः । परमस्य यथार्थं नाम शिल्हण इत्येव । यतः स शान्तिशतके द्वितीये पद्ये स्वयमेव आत्मानं शिल्हण इति निर्दिशति । क्वचिन्मातृकासु लिपिदोषात् सिल्हण, सिहनलण, शिल्हन इत्याद्यपि दृश्यते ।[3]

एतस्य स्थितिकालविषये किमपि व्यवस्थितं प्रमाणं नोपलभ्यते । अस्य शान्तिशतके भर्तृहरिकृतस्य (६०० ई० पू०) वैराग्यशतकस्य अनेके श्लोकाः उद्धृता इति नूनं भर्तृहरेरर्वाचीनः । विद्याकरकृते **सुभाषितरत्नकोषे** (११३० ई० पू०), श्रीधरदासकृते **सदुक्तिकर्णामृते** (१२०५ ई० पू०) शिल्हणकृतात् शान्तिशतकात् कतिपयानि पद्यानि उद्धृतानि दृश्यन्ते । तेनेदं वक्तुं शक्यते यदयमेतेभ्योः प्राचीनः इति नूनमस्य समयः त्रयोदशशतकात् पूर्वं भाव्यः[4] ।

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१. म० सु० सं० पृ० ३६७, क्ला० सं० लि० पृ० १९५, कटूसं० पू० ९३ हि० आ० क्ला० सं० लि० ।

२. एच० ओ० इ० लि० पृ० १९२ ।

३. एच० ओ० इ० लि० पृ० १९२ सु० र० को० पृ० सी० सीं० १०५, म० सु० सं० पृ० ३६७ ।

४. सं० सा० सं० इति० पृ० ८१३, म० सु० सं० ३६७, क्ला० सं० लिं० १९५ कम्पै० टू० सं० पृ० ९३ ।

शिल्हणस्य व्यक्तित्वं कृतित्वं च

शिल्हणस्य शान्तिशतकादतिरिक्ता कापि कृतिः क्वचिदपि संग्रहालयेषु नोपलब्धा। केवलमिदं एकमेव शान्तिशतकं नाम संग्रहभूतं पुस्तकं शिल्हणस्य कृतितया विद्वद्भिः स्वीक्रियते। शिल्हणस्य स्थितिकालादिविषये किमपि वक्तुं यथा सुदुष्करमस्ति न तथा तस्य व्यक्तित्वविषये। यतो ह्यस्य शान्तिशतकं मुकुरमिव तस्य व्यक्तित्वं सम्यगवभासयति।

शान्तिशतके चतुर्षु परिच्छेदेषु संकलितैः पद्यैरिदं वक्तुं शक्यते यत् शिल्हणो विद्याविवेकसम्पन्नः तत्त्वविद् बभूव। भगवान् शिवोऽस्य परमाराध्यदेव आसीदत एव शान्तिशतके संगृहीते भर्तृहरिकृतेऽपि पद्ये विष्णुपदस्य स्थाने शिववाचकः शब्दोऽनेकधा प्रयुक्तः।

विषया अस्य मनो हर्तुं न कदापि प्राभवन्। रूपयौवनसम्पन्नानि कलत्राणि तं मोहपाशे बद्धुं नाशक्नुवन्। रागद्वेषादिसमन्वितं जगत् विपज्जालमिव मन्वानः सोऽअमुं भवाब्धिं तर्तुमनिशं प्रावर्तत। सः सर्वविधमपि लौकिकं सुखं निष्फलमिव स्वीकुर्वन् सर्वानन्दनिधानभूते ब्रह्मणि एव निर्वृतिमन्वभवत्। संक्षेपतोऽयं ब्रह्मविद् वैराग्यसम्पन्नः योगिराडिव जीवन्मुक्तोऽराजत।

शिल्हणकृता काचिदपरा कृतिः नोपलभ्यते इति पूर्वमवोचाम। अत्र शान्तिशतकेऽपि भर्तृहरिकृता अनेके श्लोकाः संकलिताः इत्यप्युक्तम्। परमत्रेदमवधेयं यद् भर्तृहरेः वैराग्यशतकात् उद्धृतेषु पद्येष्वपि क्वचित् पदपरिवर्तनं कृतमस्ति। येन तस्य विष्णुभक्तत्वेन सह कवित्वप्रतिभाऽपि सुव्यक्ता भवति। एतादृशेषु स्थलेषु एव न केवलं काव्यसौष्ठवं परं स्वरचितेषु पद्येष्वपि भर्तृहरिपद्यापेक्षया शब्दसौष्ठवं भावगाम्भीर्यं च विशिष्य समुपलभ्यते। अपि चात्र शान्तिशतके वैराग्यप्रसंगे बौद्धधर्मस्यापि प्रभावः परिलक्षितो भवति।

शान्तिशतकस्य मातृकाः

शोधप्रबन्धभूतस्य ग्रन्थास्यास्य सम्पादनकर्मणि परिज्ञातानां प्रयुक्तानां मातृकाणां च विवरणमधो निर्दिष्टम्—

(क) गंगानाथझाकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठे संगृहीता

मातृकासंख्या ९१३३।७७, नाम-शान्तिशतकम्, लेखक नाम-शिल्हणः, विषयः काव्यम्, पत्रसंख्या १-१५, आकारः ३८″×५′ ५, प्रतिपृष्ठं पंक्तिसंख्या ५, प्रतिपंक्ति वर्णसंख्या ६२, लिपिः मैथिली, आधारः कागजः विवरणं पूर्णः, स्थितिः सुस्था, लिपिकालः शक १७२४।

आरम्भः—

ॐ नमो गणेशाय
नमस्यामो देवान्ननुहतविधेस्तेऽपि वशगाः
विधिर्वन्द्यः सोऽपि प्रतिनियतकर्मैकफलदः ।
फलं कर्मायत्तं किमहमव (मर ?) गणैः किं च विधिना
नमस्तत् कर्मभ्यो विधिरपि न येभ्यः प्रभवति ।।१।।

पुष्पिका

इति शान्तिशतके विवेकोदयो नाम द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः ।

समाप्तिः

आशा नाम नदी मनोरथजला तृष्णातरंगाकुला
रागद्वेषमयी वितर्कविहगा धैर्यद्रुमध्वंसिनी ।
मोहावर्तसुदुस्तरातिगहना प्रोत्तुंगचिन्तातटी
तस्याः पारगता विशुद्धमनसो नन्दन्ति योगीश्वराः ।।१०६।।

इति श्रीमहामहोपाध्यायश्रीशिल्हणकृतं शान्तिशतकं समाप्तम् ।

शकाब्दा १७२४ श्री ईश्वरचन्द्रदेवशर्मणः पुस्तकमिदं स्वाक्षरं च ।

(ख) गंगानाथझाकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठे संगृहीता

मातृकासंख्या ६१३२।७६, विषयः काव्यम्, नाम शान्तिशतकम्, लेखकः शिल्हणः मिश्रः, पत्रसंख्या—१—८, आकारः ४३′×५×६.६, प्रतिपृष्ठे पंक्तिसंख्या ४, प्रतिपंक्ति अक्षरसंख्या ६४, लिपिः मैथिली, आधारः का० विवरणं अपूर्णं, द्वितीयपरिच्छेदपर्यन्तं समुपलभ्यते । स्थितिः खण्डिता ।

आरम्भः—पत्र १ ख

नमस्यामो देवान्ननु हन्त (त) विधेस्तेऽपि वस(श)गाः
विधिर्वन्द्यः सोऽपि प्रतिनियतकर्मैकफलदः ।
फलं कर्मायत्तं किममव(र)गणैः किञ्च विधिना
नमस्तत् कर्मभ्यो विधिरपि न येभ्यः प्रभवति ।

पुष्पिका

पत्र—५ ख—इति शान्तिशतके परितापोपशम नाम प्रथमः परिच्छेदः समाप्तः ।

समाप्तिः—पत्रसंख्या ८ ख

श्लोक ५३—स किं धर्मो यत्र स्फुरन्ति न परद्रोह····

(ग) गंगानाथझाकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठे संगृहीता

मातृकासंख्या २७५९।३७, विषयः काव्यम्, नाम—शान्तिशतकम्। कविः शिल्हणः, पत्रसंख्या १—११, आकारः ९. ६ × । ४. ३. प्रतिपृष्ठं पंक्तिसंख्या ६, प्रतिपंक्ति अक्षरसंख्या ६२, लिपिः मैथिली, आधारः कागजः, विवरणं पूर्णम्, स्थितिः सुस्था।

आरम्भः—

पत्रसंख्या १ अ

सन्तोषसन्ततिकरं विदुषां कवीनां
सांसारिकाप्रतिमदुःखविनाशबीजम्।
यत्नेन शान्तिशतकं विदधे विवेकी
श्री सिल्हणः प्रकृतिसुन्दरशुद्धबुद्धिः ॥१॥

पुष्पिका—

पत्रसंख्या ६ अ, श्लोकसंख्या ५२ ॥ इति शान्तिशतके विवेकोदयो नाम द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः।

समाप्ति :—

पत्रसंख्या ११

इतो न किंचित्परतो न किंचिद्
यतो यतो यामि ततो न किंचिद्।
विचार्यमाणं हि जगन्न किंचित्
निजप्रवोधादधिकं न किंचित् ॥१०५॥

इति शान्तिशतके पथोपदेशो नाम चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः।

समाप्तं शान्तिशतकम्।

(घ) गंगानाथझाकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठे संगृहीता

मातृकासंख्या ९१३४।७८, नाम—शान्तिशतकम्,

लेखकः—शिल्हणः, विषयः—काव्यम्, पत्रसंख्या २-१४, प्रथमं पद्यं नास्ति। आकारः ३३.७×५, प्रतिपृष्ठं पंक्तिसंख्या ५, प्रतिपंक्ति वर्णसंख्या ५२, विवरणम्—अपूर्णा।

आरम्भः पत्रसंख्या २ अ

विशीर्णः प्रारम्भो वपुरपि जराव्याधिविधुरं
गतं दूरे विप्रस्वजनभरणं वांछितमपि।
इदानीं व्यामोहादहह विपरीते हृतविद्यो (धौ)
विधेयं भक्तत्वं स्फुरति मम नाद्यापि हृदये ॥५॥

पुष्पिका—पत्रसंख्या ५ क

इति शान्तिशतके परितापो नाम प्रथमः परिच्छेदः।

समाप्तिः—पत्रसंख्या १४ ख

इति श्रीशान्तिशतके शिल्हणविरचिते चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः समाप्तः।

समाप्तोऽयं ग्रन्थः॥

(ङ) गंगानाथझाकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठे संगृहीता

मातृकासंख्या—११४१५।१०३ नाम—शान्तिशतकम्, लेखकः शिल्हणः, विषयः काव्यम्, पत्रसंख्या १-३ आकारः ३२, ८, ५, प्रतिपृष्ठं पंक्तिसंख्या ५, प्रतिपंक्ति अक्षरसंख्या ४४, विवरणम्—अपूर्णा।

(च) वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य सरस्वतीभवनपुस्तकालये संगृहीता

मातृकासंख्या ०४०५२८, विषयः काव्यम्, ग्रन्थनाम—शान्तिशतकम्, ग्रन्थकारः शिल्हणः, आकारः १३×३×२.६, पत्रसंख्या १-१२, प्रतिपृष्ठं पंक्तिसंख्या—७, प्रतिपंक्ति अक्षरसंख्या ५६, लिपिः वंगीया, विवरणम्—अपूर्णा, अस्पष्टाक्षरम्।

आरम्भः— पत्रसंख्या १ ब

श्री गणशाय नमः

नमस्यामो देवान्ननुहतविधेस्तेऽपि वस(श)गाः
विधिर्वन्द्यः सोऽपि प्रतिनियतकर्म्मैकफलदः
फलं कर्म्मायत्तं किममव(र)गणैः किंच विधिना
नमस्तत्कर्मभ्यो विधिरपि न येभ्यं(यः)प्रभवति ॥

समाप्तिः— पत्रसंख्या १२ ब अस्पष्टम् जीर्णम् ।

इदं शरीरं शत जर्जरं····॥१०६॥ (श्लोकसंख्या)

इति शान्तिशतके चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ।

(छ) वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य सरस्वतीभवनपुस्तकालये संगृहीता

मातृकासंख्या १५२०८, विषयः काव्यम्, ग्रन्थनाम-शान्तिशतकम्, ग्रन्थकारः शिल्हश:(णः), पत्रसंख्या १-५, आकारः १२, ४, ५ इंच प्रतिपृष्ठं पंक्तिसंख्या ११, प्रतिपंक्ति वर्णसंख्या ६६, लिपिः वंगीया, विवरणम्—अपूर्णा, जीर्णम् अस्पष्टाक्षरम् ।

आरम्भः— पत्रसंख्या १ ब

ॐ गणेशाय

नमस्यामो देवान्ननुहतविधेस्ते(ऽ)पि····न येभ्यं(यः)प्रभवति ॥१॥

पुष्पिका— पत्रसंख्या ३ ब

इति शान्तिशतके विवेकोदयो नामो इति द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः ।

समाप्तिः— पत्रसंख्या ५ ब—अस्पष्टम् ।

(ज) वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य सरस्वतीभवनपुस्तकालये संगृहीता

मातृकासंख्या ४३३७५, विषयः काव्यम्, ग्रन्थनाम-शान्तिशतकम् । ग्रन्थकारः शिल्हणः, पत्रसंख्या १-३, आकारः ६, ६, ३, ६ आधारः का० लिपिः वंगीया, विवरणम्—अपूर्णा ।

पुष्पिका—

पत्रसंख्या ३ अ इति शान्तिशतकम् परितापोपशमन नाम प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ।

(ऋ) वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य सरस्वतीभवनपुस्तकालये संगृहीता

मातृकासंख्या ४३३८, ग्रन्थनाम-शान्तिशतकम्, ग्रन्थकारः शिल्हणः, पत्रसंख्या १-२, आकारः १४. ५ × ३. १, प्रतिपृष्ठं पंक्तिसंख्या ६, प्रतिपंक्ति अक्षरसंख्या ५३, लिपिः वंगीया, आधारः का० अपूर्णा ।

(त) वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य सरस्वतीभवनपुस्तकालये संगृहीता

मातृकासंख्या ४३४०१ ग्रन्थनाम-शान्तिशतकम्, ग्रन्थकारः शिल्हणः, पत्रसंख्या १-२, आकारः १७. २ × ३. ८ प्रतिपृष्ठं पंक्तिसंख्या ६, प्रतिपृष्ठं अक्षरसंख्या ५८, लिपिः वंगीया, विवरणम्—अपूर्णा ।

(थ) वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य सरस्वतीभवनपुस्तकालये संगृहीता

मातृकासंख्या ४३३७६, ग्रन्थनाम शान्तिशतकम्, ग्रन्थकारः शिल्हणः, पत्रसंख्या १३-१५, आकारः १३ × ५ × ३, प्रतिपृष्ठं पंक्तिसंख्या ७, प्रतिपक्ति अक्षरसंख्या ५०, लिपिः वंगीया आधारः का० विवरणम्—अपूर्णा ।

(द) कलिकातास्थबंगालरायलएशियाटिकसोसाइटीनाम्नि संस्थाने संगृहीता

मातृकासंख्या ५५६२ ग्रन्थनाम शान्तिशतकम्, ग्रन्थकारः शिल्हणः, पत्रसंख्या ७, आकारः ११, १, ५, प्रतिपृष्ठं पंक्तिसंख्या ६, प्रतिपंक्ति अक्षरसंख्या १६-२२, लिपिः उडिया, विवरणम्—अपूर्णा, स्थितिः-सुस्था ।

(ध) कलिकातास्थबंगालरायलएशियाटिकसोसाइटीनाम्नि संस्थाने संगृहीता

मातृकासंख्या ५५५० ग्रन्थनाम शान्तिशतकम्, ग्रन्थकारः शिल्हणः, पत्रसंख्या ६, प्रतिपत्रं पंक्तिसंख्या ७, प्रतिपंक्ति अक्षरसंख्या—१६ × ३ × $\frac{3}{4}$ इंच, लिपिः बंगीया, विवरणम्—अपूर्णा, स्थितिः सुस्था ।

समाप्तिः—इति शिल्हणमिश्रकृते शान्तिशतके विवेकोदयो नाम चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ।

(न) कलिकातास्थबंगालरायलएशियाटिकसोसाइटीनाम्नि संस्थाने संगृहीता

मातृकासंख्या १०८३२, ग्रन्थनाम शान्तिशतकम्, ग्रन्थकारः शिल्हणः, पत्रसंख्या १७, पंक्तिसंख्या ५, आकारः ११ × ३ इंच, लिपिः बंगीया, विवरणम्—अपूर्णा ।

समाप्तिः पुष्पिका—

इति शान्तिशतके शान्तिविवेको नाम—चतुर्थः खण्डः ।

(प) कलिकातास्थबंगालरायलएशियाटिकसोसाइटीनाम्नि संस्थाने संगृहीता

मातृकासंख्या ९६२३, ग्रन्थनाम शान्तिशतकम्, ग्रन्थकारः शिल्हणः, पत्रसंख्या ११, प्रतिपृष्ठं पंक्तिसंख्या ४, सम्पूर्णश्लोकसंख्या १, ८७, आकारः १२×६ इंच, लिपिः देवनागरी।

(फ) दरभंगानगरस्थे मिथिलाशोधसंस्थाने संगृहीता

शान्तिशतकम्, ग्रन्थकारः शिल्हणः, पत्रसंख्या ५, आकारः १५×५ इंच, प्रतिपृष्ठं पंक्तिसंख्या १०, प्रतिपंक्ति अक्षरसंख्या ७२, लिपिः मैथिली, आधारः का०, विवरणम्—पूर्णा स्थितिः सुस्था प्राचीना।

आरम्भः—

ओं नमः श्रीदुर्गादेव्यै नमः।
सन्तोषसन्ततिकरं विदुषां कवीनां
सांसारिकाप्रतिमदुःखविनाशबीजम्।
यत्नेन शान्तिशतकम् विदधे विवेकी
श्री सिल्हणः प्रकृतिसुन्दरशुद्धबुद्धिः ॥१॥

नमस्यामो देवान् ननु हतविधेस्ते(ऽ)पि वशगा
विधिर्वन्द्यस्सो(ऽ)पि प्रतिनियतकर्मैकफलदः
फलं कर्मायत्तं किममरगणैः किञ्च विधिना
नमस्तत्कर्मभ्यो विधिरपि न येभ्यः प्रभवति ॥२॥

समाप्तिः—

आशा नाम नदी मनोरथजला तृष्णातरंगाकुला।
मोहावर्त्तसुदुस्तरा प्रज(क)टितप्रोत्तुंगचिन्तातटी
रागग्राहवती वितर्कविहगा धैर्यद्रु मध्वंसिनी।
तस्याः पारगता विशुद्धमनसो नन्दन्ति योगीश्वराः ॥१०६॥
यदि शान्तौ मनो देयं यदि मुक्तिपदे रतिः।
तदा शिल्हणमिश्रस्य पादमारभतां धिया ॥

पुष्पिका—

इति शान्तिशतके चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ः

समाप्तश्चेदं शान्तिशतकम्।

(ब) दरभंगानगरस्थे मिथिलाशोधसंस्थाने संगृहीता

शान्तिशतकम्, ग्रन्थकारः शिल्हणः, पत्रसंख्या ४, प्रतिपृष्ठं पंक्तिसंख्या ८, प्रतिपंक्ति अक्षरसंख्या ५६, आकारः १३×१/२", ३१/२ इंच, लिपिः—मैथिली, आधारः का० विवरणम्—अपूर्णा, स्थितिः सुस्था प्राचीना च ।

(भ) दरभंगानगरस्थे मिथिलाशोधसंस्थाने संगृहीता

शान्तिशतकम्, ग्रन्थकारः शिल्हणः, पत्रसंख्या ११, प्रतिपृष्ठं पंक्तिसंख्या ६, प्रतिपंक्ति अक्षरसंख्या ६२, आकारः १७१/२×३३/४ विवरणम्—स्थितिः प्राचीना, अपूर्णा, सन् १२४६, शक १७६१ ।

(म) 'अरैल'(प्रयाग)स्थश्रीसच्चा आश्रमे विष्णुब्रह्मचारिणः संग्रहे संगृहीता

ग्रन्थनाम शान्तिशतकम्, लेखकः शिल्हणः, पत्रसंख्या १६, आकारः ७१/२"×१२" पृष्ठसंख्या १६, प्रतिपृष्ठं पंक्तिसंख्या २३ प्रतिपंक्ति वर्णसंख्या १८, सम्पूर्णा श्लोकसंख्या २६+२८+२४+२६, लिपिः देवनागरी, स्थितिः सुस्था नवीना । (अस्या मातृकायाः पाठभेदाः मूलसंपादनानन्तरं पुनरीक्षिकया समावेशिताः)

आरम्भः

नमस्यामो देवान्ननु हतविधेस्ते(ऽ)पि वशगा
विधिर्वन्द्यः सोऽपि प्रतिनियतकर्मैकफलदः ।
फलं कर्मायत्तं किममरगणैः किं च विधिना
नमस्तत्कर्मभ्यो विधिरपि न येभ्यः प्रभवति ॥

पुष्पिकाः

(१) इति श्रीशान्तिशतके परितापोपशमो नाम प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ।

(२) इति शान्तिशतके विवेकोदयो नाम द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः ।

(३) इति श्रीशान्तिशतके कर्त्तव्यतोपदेशो नाम तृतीयः परिच्छेदः ।

(४) इति श्रीशिल्हनकविकृतं शान्तिशतकं समाप्तम् ।

समाप्तिः

आशानाम नदी मनोरथजला तृष्णातरङ्गाकुला
रागग्राहवती वितर्कविहगा धैर्यद्रुमध्वंसिनी ।
मोहावर्त्तसुदुस्तरा प्रकटितप्रोत्तुंगचिन्तातटी
तस्याः पारगता विशुद्धमनसो नन्दन्ति योगीश्वराः ॥

शान्तिशतकस्य इयं प्रस्तुतिरष्टमातृका आश्रित्य कृतास्ति । तासां संक्षिप्तं विवरणमित्थम्—

क. ख. ग. घ. ङ, च. छ. म.

एतदतिरिक्ता तिस्रः मातृकाः दरभंगानगरस्थे मिथिलाशोधसंस्थाने चतस्रः कलिकातास्थएसियाटिकसोसाइटीपुस्तकालये संगृहीता सन्ति। इमाः मातृकाः महता प्रयत्नेनापि द्रष्टुं नाशक्यन्त।

ऑफ्रेख्ट कृते सूचीवन्धे (Catalogus Catalogorum) अन्येषु च ऐतिह्यग्रन्थेषु ग्रन्थास्यास्य मुद्रणविषयेऽपि सूचना समुपलभ्यते।[1] परं अस्य[2] कापि मुद्रिता प्रतिः मया द्रष्टुं नापारि।

उपसंहारः

यद्यपि कस्यामपि भाषायां निबद्धस्य वाङ्मयस्य सर्वासामपि शाखानां स्वकीयं महत्त्वं भवति, परन्तु सुभाषितानां तत्र विशिष्य महत्त्वं भवति। वाङ्मयस्य अन्याः सर्वा अपि शाखाः मानवजीवनस्य किमप्येकैकमभावं पूरयन्ति, परं ताः मानवजीवनस्य सर्वाभ्यो दिग्भ्यः निर्माणार्थं अभावपूर्त्यै वा न प्रभवन्ति। वेदाः धर्मशास्त्राणि यद्यपि जीवनं सर्वतः नियमयन्ति. भवन्ति महत्त्वपूर्णानि, तथापि तेषां दुर्बोधतया, अनेकेषां तत्र अनधिकारतया च, न ते प्रभवन्ति सर्वानपि स्वस्वकर्मणि प्रवर्तयितुम्। अपि च तानि प्रभुसम्मितोपदेशतया न भवन्ति हृदयावर्जकानि इति कोमलमतयः तानि अध्येतुमपि न प्रवर्तन्ते। सुभाषितानि तु गुडजिह्विकया कर्तव्यपथं निर्दिशमानानि अनेकधा आत्मप्रतिबिम्बमिव उपस्थापयितुं प्रवृत्तानि सर्वानपि जनान् स्वस्वकर्मणि प्रवर्तयितुं अपथेभ्यो निवर्तयितुं प्रभवन्त्येषु च कर्मसु प्रवर्तने सहायभूतानि, मानवं मानवं विधातुं सर्वा अपि च तस्य चेष्टाः सफलयितुं सुतरां प्रभवन्ति।

शिल्हणकृतं शान्तिशतकं च अमुं उद्देश्यमेव अधिकृत्य विरचितम्। मन्ये ग्रन्थरत्नस्यास्य समुपस्थापनं प्रकाशनं च न केवलं मादृशां समेषामपि पाठकानां पुरुषार्थचतुष्टयसम्पादनाय प्रभवेत् तथापि कालिदासीयैः शब्दैः—

आपरितोषाद् विदुषां न साधु मन्ये प्रयोगविज्ञानम्।
बलवदपि शिक्षितानाम् आत्मन्यप्रत्ययं चेतः॥

(अ० शा० १. २)

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१. ए० न्यू० हि०, पृष्ठ १०२ (Santisataka, ed. by K. Schönfeld, Leipzig १९१०), म० सु० सं०, पृष्ठ cxiv, आफ्रेख्ट कैटा०, भाग १, पृष्ठ ६४१। हि० आफ क्ला०, पृष्ठ ३१८, ए० न्यू० हि०, पृ० १०२।

२. मुद्रणात् प्राक् एतद्ग्रन्थं पुनरीक्षमाणया मया १८७४ तमे ईशवीये वर्षे कलिकातानगर्यां 'ज्ञानरत्नाकर'मुद्रणालयात् प्रकाशिते "काव्यसंग्रह" नाम्नि ग्रन्थे संकलितः शान्तिशतकस्य पाठः अवलोकितः तस्य पाठभेदाश्चात्र समावेशिताः (डा० माया मालवीय)।

शान्तिशतकम्

प्रथमः परिच्छेदः

1 नमस्यामो देवान् ननु हतविधेस्तेऽपि वशगा
विधिर्वन्द्यः सोऽपि प्रतिनियतकर्मैकफलदः[1]।
फलं कर्मायत्तं किममर[2]गणैः किञ्च विधिना
नमस्तत्कर्मभ्यो विधिरपि न येभ्यः[3] प्रभवति[4] ॥१॥

2 सन्तोषसन्ततिकरं विदुषां कवीनां
सांसारिकाप्रतिमदुःखविनाशबीजम् ।
यत्नेन शान्तिशतकं विदधे विवेकी
श्रीशिल्हणः[1] प्रकृतिसुन्दरशुद्धबुद्धिः[2] ॥२॥

3 आत्मज्ञानविवेकनिर्मलधियः कुर्वन्त्यहो दुष्करं
यन्मुञ्चन्त्युपभोगभाञ्ज्यपि धनान्येकान्ततो निस्पृहाः ।
न प्राप्तानि पुरा न सम्प्रति न च प्राप्तौ दृढप्रत्ययौ
वाञ्छामात्र[1]परिग्रहाण्यपि वयं त्यक्तुं न तानि क्षमाः ॥३॥

4 धन्यानां गिरिकन्दरोदरभुवि[1] ज्योतिः परं ध्यायता-
मानन्दाश्रुजलं पिबन्ति शकुना निःशङ्कमङ्क[2]स्थिताः ।
अस्माकं तु मनोरथोपरचितप्रासादवापीतट-
क्रीडाकाननकेलिमण्डप[3]जुषामायुः[4] परं क्षीयते ॥४॥

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1 (१) फलदम् ग । (२) किममव ख । (३) येभ्यं क । (४) म एतदनन्तरं पद्यमिदं लिखति—

यदि शान्तौ मनो देयं यदा मुक्तिपदे रतिः ।
तदा शिह्लनमिश्रस्य पदमारभ्यतां धिया ॥२॥

2 (१) सिह्लण ख ।

3 (१) वाङ्मात्रेण क ख ग ।

4 (१) दरोदरगत क, कन्दरे निवसतां वै० (२) मङ्के क ख ग घ, वै० मङ्गे शयाः (३) मन्दिर-सदुक्ति, (४) सदामायुः सु० र० भा०, जुषां चेतः सदुक्ति ।

5 विशीर्णः प्रारम्भो वपुरपि जराव्याधिविधुरं
गतं दूरे विप्रस्त्रजनभरणं वाञ्छितमपि ।
इदानीं व्यामोहादहह विपरीते हतविधौ
विधेयं यत्तत्त्वं स्फुरति मम नाद्यापि हृदये ॥५॥

6 बीभत्सा[1] विषया जुगुप्सिततमः कायो वयो गत्वरं
प्रायो बन्धुभिरध्वनीव पथिकैर्योगो[2] वियोगावहः ।
हातव्योऽयमसार[3] एव[4] विरसः संसार इत्यादिकं
सर्वस्यैव हि वाचि चेतसि पुनः[5] कस्यापि पुण्यात्मनः[6] ॥६॥

7 अजानन्दाहार्त्तिं विशति[1] शलभो दीपदहने
न मीनोऽपि ज्ञात्वा[2] धृतबडिशमश्नाति पिशितम् ।
विजानन्तोऽप्येतान्[3] वयमिह विपज्जालजटिला-
न्न मुञ्चामः कामानहह[4] गहनो मोहमहिमा ॥७॥

8 बीभत्साः प्रतिभान्ति किन्नु विषयाः किंतु[1] स्पृहायुष्मती
देहस्यापचयो मतौ निविशते गाढो गृहेषु ग्रहः ।
ब्रह्मोपास्यमिति स्फुरत्यपि हृदि व्यावर्तिका वासना
का नामेयमतर्क्य[2]हेतुगहना दैवी सतां यातना ॥८॥

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6 (१) म मातृकायां श्लोकसंख्या २०, (२) पथिकैः संगो (सु० र० को०), योगे म
(३) अयमसंस्तवाय (सु० र० को०), (४) एव (सदुक्ति) विसरः (सु० र० को०),
(५) परं ग. (६) पद विपर्यय—कस्यापि पुण्यात्मनः (सु० र० को०) ।

7 (१) माहात्म्यं पततु । वै० २८, (२) वृतं क, ख, ग, बडिश युत वै० २०,
(३) विजानन्तोप्येते, वै० २०, प्येवं क, (४) ज्ञान क, ख ।

8 (१) किं न क, ख, किं नु (सदुक्ति), (२) सतर्क्यं क ; °मतर्क्यं मोहः (हेतु) ।

9 क्षान्तं न क्षमया गृहोचितसुखं त्यक्तं[1] न सन्तोषतः
सोढा दुःसहशीतवात[2]तपनक्लेशा न तप्तं तपः ।
ध्यातं वित्तमहर्निशं न च पुनर्विष्णोः पदं शाश्वतं[3]
तत्तत्कर्म कृतं यदेव मुनिभिस्तैस्तैः फलैर्वञ्चितम्[4] ॥९॥

10 कृत्वा शस्त्रविभीषिकां कतिपयग्रामेषु दीनाः प्रजा
मथ्नन्तो[1] चिटजल्पितैरुपहताः क्षोणीभुजस्ते किल ।
विद्वांसोऽपि वयं किल त्रिजगती[2]सर्गस्थितिव्यापदा-
मीशस्तत[3]परिचर्यया न गणितो यैरेष[4] नारायणः ॥१०॥

11 नाथे[1] श्रीपुरुषोत्तमे त्रिजगतामेकाधिपे चेतसा
सेव्ये स्वस्य पदस्य दातरि सुरे[2] नारायणे तिष्ठति ।
यं कंचित्[3]पुरुषाधमं कतिपयग्रामेशमल्पार्थदं
सेवायै मृगयामहे नरमहो मूढा वराका वयम् ॥११॥

12 जन्मेदं व्यर्थ[1]तां नीतं भवभोगोपलिप्सया ।
काचमूल्येन विक्रीतो हन्त चिन्तामणिर्मया ॥१२॥

13 वक्त्रं मुग्ध निषेवसे[1] न धनिनां नैवापि[2] चाटूवालपो[3]
नैषां गर्वगिरः शृणोषि न पुरः[4] प्रत्याशया धावसि ।
काले बालतृणानि खादसि सुखं निद्रासि निद्रागमे,
तन्मे ब्रूहि कुरंग कुत्र भवता किन्नाम तप्तं तपः ॥१३॥

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9 (१) व्यक्तं, (२) वातिशीत व, (३) नियमित प्राणेन शंभो पदम् वै० १४, न, च, पुनस्तत्त्वान्तरं शाश्वतम् सु० र० को०, (४) वंचिताः क ।

10 (१) मत्यन्तो क, ख, ग, घ च, (२) त्रिजगतां क, ख, च, छ, (३) मीशस्तल्प ख, (४) चैरेवं ग. यैवेपु ख ।

11 (१) नाथो ख (२) दातविष्णवे ख, (३) किंचित् ख ।

12 (१) वन्ध्यतां ख, ग, घ, म ।

13 (१) यद् वक्त्रं मुहुरीक्षसे म । यदुक्तं मुणुविक्षणसे क, ख । मुहुरिक्षणसे घ । मुहुरीक्षसे म, (२) ब्रूषे न, (३) चाटुमृषा क, ख, ग, घ, व, छ, चाटुं मृषा म, (४) पुनः ।

14 वासः[1] शून्यमयत्नलभ्यमशनं वायुः कृतो वेधसा
व्यालानां पशव[2]स्तृणांकुरभुजः सुस्थस्थ[3]लीशायिनः।
संसारार्णव[4]लंघनक्षमधियां वृत्तिर्ह्र[5]ता सा नृणाम्
यामन्वेषयतां प्रयान्ति सततं सर्वं समाप्तिं गुणाः ॥१४॥

15 कामं वनेषु[1] हरिणास्तृणेन जीवन्त्ययत्नसुलभेन।
विदधति धनिषु न दैन्यं ते किल[2] पशवो वयं सुधियः ॥१५॥

16 आस्वाद्य स्वयमेव वच्मि महतीर्मर्मच्छिदो[1] वेदना
मा भूत्कस्यचिदप्ययं परिभवो याच्ञेति संसारिणः।
पश्य भ्रातरियं हि यौवनजराधिक्कारकेलिस्थली
मानम्लानिमसी[2] गुणव्यतिकरप्रागल्भ्यगर्वच्युतिः[3] ॥१६॥

17 क्व गन्तासि भ्रातः, कृतवसतयो यत्र धनिनः
किमर्थं प्राणानां स्थितिमनुविधातुं कथमपि।
धनैर्याच्ञालब्धैर्ननु परिभवोऽभ्यर्थनफलं
निकारोऽग्रे पश्चाद्[1]धनमहह भोस्तद्धि निधनम् ॥१७॥

18 प्राणानां बत किं ब्रुवे कठिनतां[1] तैरेव साविष्कृता[2]
निष्क्रामन्ति कदाचिदेव[3] हि न[4] ये याच्ञावचोभिः समम्।
आत्मानं पुनराक्षिपामि विदित[5]स्थैर्योऽपि[6] येषामहो
मिथ्याशंकिततद्वियोगविधुरो[7] यत्प्रार्थये सर्वशः ॥१८॥

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14 (१) यज्ञो क, च, छ, ख, घ, हिंसा वै० ११ याच्ञा शून्या ग, शून्यं म (२) हरिणाः ख, (३) स्वस्थाः म, (४) संसारार्ते क। (५) कृता म।

15 (१) वलेषु च, छ, पुलेषु ख। (२) खलु म०।

16 (१) महतीमर्म क, ख, ग घ, च, (२) मानम्लानमसी क, ख, घ, च, छ, (३) गर्वक्षतिः क, घ, गर्वक्षिति ख, गर्भच्युति (सु० र० को)।

17 (१) पश्चात्कुलं क।

18 (१) काचनता क, ख, (२) माविष्कृता म, (३) कथञ्चिदेव म०। (४) नहि ख, (५) विहित ख, घ, (६) धैर्योऽपि ख, (७) मधुरो म।

19 अमीषां प्राणानां तुलि[1]तविसिनीपत्रपयसां
कृते किं नास्माभिर्विगलितविवेकैर्व्यवसितम् ।
यदीशानामग्रे द्रविण[2]कणमोहान्धतमसां[3]
कृतं वीतव्रीडैर्निजगुणकथापातकमपि ॥१९॥

20 बीभत्साः प्रतिभान्ति किन्न विषयाः किं तु स्पृहायुष्मती
देहस्यापचयो मृतौ[1] निविशते गाढो गृहेषु ग्रहः ।
ब्रह्मोपास्यमिति स्फुरत्यपि हृदि व्यावर्त्तिका वासना
का नामेयमतर्क्यहेतुगहना दैवी सतां यातना ॥२०॥

21 तडिन्मालालोलं प्रतिविरति सक्ता[1]न्धतमसं
भवे सौख्यं[2] हित्वा शमसुखमुपादेयमनघम्[3] ।
इति व्यक्तोद्गारं चटुलवचसः शून्यमनसो
वयं वीतव्रीडाः शुक इव पठामः परममी ॥२१॥

22 यदासौ दुर्वारः प्रसरति मदश्चित्तकरिण-
स्तदा तस्योद्दामप्रसररसरूढैर्व्यवसितैः ।
क्व तद्धैर्यालानं[1] क्व च निज[2]कुलाचारनिगडः[3]
क्व सा लज्जारज्जुः क्व विनयकठोरांकुशमपि ॥२२॥

23 भिक्षाशनं भवनमायतनैकदेशः
शय्या भुवः परिजनो निजदेहभारः[1] ।
वासश्च जीर्णपटखण्डनिबद्धकन्था[2]
हा हा तथापि विषयान्न जहाति चेतः ॥२३॥

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19 (१) चलित क, (२) द्रविणमदनिःसंज्ञमनसां, (३) मनसां म ।
20 (१) मतौ म ।
21 (१) शक्तान्ध छ, दत्तान्धतमसं क, ख, ग. म, (सु० र० को०, सदुक्ति)
(२) भवत्सौख्यं (सु० र० को०) (३) 'मुपादेयमलभं च, मनघं क, ग ।
22 (१) कृतद्वैर्व्यालानां ख, ग । (२) कुशालज्जा रज्जु घ, ग । (३) निगणः ख, ग ।
23 (१) भावः म । (२) कल्हा क ।

24 त्वामुदर साधु मन्ये शाकैरपि यदसि लब्धपरितोषम्[1] ।
हतहृदयं ह्यधिकाधिकवाञ्छाशतदुर्भरं न पुनः ।।२४।।

25 निःस्वो वष्टि शतं शती पुनरहो[1] लक्षं सहस्राधिपो[2]
लक्षेशः क्षितिपालतां क्षितिपतिश्चक्रेश्वरत्वं पुनः ।
चक्रेशः पुनरिन्द्रतां, सुरपतिर्ब्राह्मं पदं वाञ्छति
ब्रह्मा विष्णुपदं हरिः शिवपदं[3] मा(स्वा)शावधिं को गतः[4] ।।२५।।

26 शुचां[1] पात्रं धात्री परिणतिरमेध्यप्रचयभू-
रयं भूतावासो विमृश कियतीं[2] याति न दशाम् ।
तदस्मिन्धीराणां क्षणमपि किल[3] स्थातुमुचितं
खलीकारः कोऽयं यदहमहमेवेति रभसः ।।२६।।

27 रेतःशोणितयोरिथं परिणतिर्यद्वर्ष्म तच्चाभव[1]
न्मृत्योरास्पदमाश्रयो[2] गुरुशुचां रोगस्य विश्रामभूः ।
जानन्नप्यवशी[3] विवेकविरहान्मज्जन्नविद्याम्बुधौ[4]
श्रृंगारीयति पुत्रकाम्यति वत[5] क्षेत्रीयति स्त्रीयति ।।२७।।

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24 (१) परितोषः ग ।

25 (१) क, ख, ग, घ मातृकासु नास्ति, (२) सदा वाञ्छति (सु० र० को०) (३) पुनः पुनरहो क, ग, घ, च, (४) म मातृकायां पद्यमिदं नास्ति ।

26 (१) शुची ग, (२) कियता घ, (३) किमास्था म ।

27 (१) तत्राभवन् सु० र० भा०, (२) मृत्योरामिषमास्पदं सु० र० को०, मृत्योराश्रयास्पदम् ग, (३) जानन्नप्यवशो सदुक्ति, (४) बुधि ग, (५) रत ग, च, तव म ।

28 क्वैतद् वक्त्रारविन्दं क्व तदधरमधु क्वायतास्ते कटाक्षाः
क्वालापाः कोमलास्ते क्व[1] च मदनधनुर्भङ्गुरो भ्रूविलासः ।
इत्थं[2] खट्वाङ्गकोटौ प्रकटितदशनं मञ्जुगुञ्जत् समीरं
रागान्धानामिवोच्चैरुपहसति महामोहजाले[3] कपालम् ॥२८॥

29 शृणु हृदय रहस्यं यत्प्रशस्तं मुनीनां
न खलु न खलु योषित्संगमः[1] संविधेयः ।
हरति[2] हि हरिणाक्षी क्षिप्रमक्षिक्षुरप्रैः
पिहित[3]शमतनुत्रं चित्तमप्युत्तमानाम् ॥२९॥

30 समाश्लिष्यत्युच्चैर्घनपिशितपिण्डं स्तनधिया
मुखं लालाक्लिन्नं पिबति चषकं सासवमिव[1] ।
अमेध्यक्लेदार्द्रे पथि च रमते स्पर्शरसिको
महामोहान्धानां किमिह[2]रमणीयं न भवति ॥३०॥

इति श्रीमहामहोपाध्यायशिल्हणकृते शान्तिशतके परितापोपशमो
नाम प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ।

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28 (१) कुशमदन क, ख, ग, घ, च, (२) गण्डं क, (३) जालं म ।
29 (१) सन्निधिः ख, घ, (२) वहति ख, (३) प्रहत क, ख, ग, घ ।
30 (१) सासरमिव क, ख, ग, घ, (२) किमिव (सु० र० भा०) किमपि म ।

द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः

31 अयमविचारितचारुतया संसारो भाति रमणीयः।
अत्र पुनः परमार्थदृशा न किमपि सारमणीयः ॥·॥

32 केनाप्यनर्थरुचिना कपटं प्रयुक्त-
मेतत्सुहृत्तनय[1]बन्धुमयं विचित्रम्।
कस्यात्मजः[2] परिजनः स्वजनो जनो[3] वा
स्वप्नेन्द्रजालसदृशः खलु जीवलोकः ॥२॥

33 आरम्भः संशयानामविनयभवनं पत्तनं साहसानां
दोषाणां सन्निधानं कपटशतमयं क्षेत्रमप्रत्ययानाम्[1]।
दुस्त्याज्यं यन्महद्भिः सुरनरवृषभैः सर्वमायाकरण्डं
स्त्रीरूपं केन लोके विषमयममृतं[2] धर्मनाशाय सृष्टम् ॥३॥

34 यदा प्रकृत्यैव जनस्य रागिणो
भृशं प्रदीप्तो हृदि मन्मथानलः[1]।
तदात्र भूयः किमनर्थपण्डितैः
कुकाव्यहव्याहुतयो[2] निवेशिताः[3] ॥४॥

35 ददति[1] तावदमी विषयाः सुखं
स्फुरति यावदियं[2] हृदि मूढता[3]।
मनसि तत्त्वविदां तु[4] विवेचके
क्व विषयाः क्व सुखं क्व परिग्रहः ॥५॥

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32 (१) सुहृत्तुल्य ख, (२) कस्या एकः ख, ग च, छ, कस्यात्र म, (३) किल सुहृत् सुजनो जनो घ।

33 (१) प्रमेयानां ख सक्र प्रत्याशं घ, (२) विषममृतमयं म।

34 (१) मन्मथाननः ख, घ, (२) हव्याभूतयो घ, हव्याकृतयो च, छ, (३) नियोजिता घ।

35 (१) दधति म, (२) तावदियं (मु० र० को०) ग, (३) वासना (सदुक्ति), (४) विदां च, क, ख, (सदुक्ति)।

36 यदा पूर्वं नासीदुपरि च तथा नैव भविता
तदा मध्यावस्थाक्षणपरिचयो भूतनिचयः ।
अतः संयोगेऽस्मिन्बलवति[1] वियोगे च सहजे
किमाधारः प्रेमाः किमधिकरणाः सन्तु च शुचः ॥६॥

37 इन्द्रस्याशुचिशूकरस्य च सुखे दुःखे च नास्त्यन्तरं
स्वेच्छाकल्पनया तयोः खलु सुधा विष्ठा च काम्याशनम् ।
रम्भा चाशुचिशूकरी च परमप्रेमास्पदं मृत्युतः
संत्रासोऽपि समः स्वकर्मगतिभि[1]श्चान्योन्यभावः समः ॥७॥

38 कृमिकुलचितं लालाक्लिन्नं[1] विगन्धि जुगुप्सितं
निरुपमरसप्रीत्या खादन्नरास्थिनिरामिषम् ।
सुरपतिमपि श्वा पार्श्वस्थं सशंकितमीक्षते[2]
नहि गणयति[3] क्षुद्रो लोकः परिग्रहफल्गुताम्[4] ॥८॥

39 अमीषां जन्तूनां कतिपयनिमेषस्थितिजुषां[1]
वियोगे धीराणां क इह परितापस्य विषयः ।
क्षणादुत्पद्यन्ते विलयमपि[2] यान्ति क्षणममी
न केऽपि स्थातारः सुरगिरिपयोधिप्रभृतयः ॥९॥

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36 (१) सति ग, परिणति ख, परवति (सु० र० को०) ।

37 (१) मतिभि ख, म ।

38 (१) कीर्णं (का० सं०), (२) विलोक्य न शंकते (नीति० ३३) (३) न विगणयति ग, घ, गणयति न हि (सदुक्ति) (४) फलभृतां ग, ख ।

39 (१) युषां क, (२) विलयमथ घ ।

40 सर्वं[1]प्राणविनाशसंशयकरीं प्राप्यापदं दुस्तरां
प्रत्यासन्नतया[2] न वेत्ति विभवं स्वं जीवनं[3] काङ्क्षति
उत्तीर्णस्तु ततो धनार्थमपरां भूयो विशत्यापदं
प्राणानाञ्च धनस्य चाधमधियामन्योन्यहेतुः समः[4] ॥१०॥

41 विमलमतिभिः कैरप्येतज्जगज्जनितं पुरा
विधृ[1]तमपरैर्दत्तञ्चान्यैर्विजित्य यथा तृणम्[2] ।
इह हि भुवनान्यन्ये वीरा[3]श्चतुर्दश भुञ्जते
कतिपयपुरस्वाम्यैः[4] पुंसां क एष मदज्वरः ॥११॥

42 रम्यं हर्म्यतलं न किं वसतये श्रव्यं[1] न गीतादिकं
किंवा प्राणसमासमागम[2] सुखं नैवाधिकप्रीतये ।
किन्तूद्भ्रान्त[3]पतत्पतंगपवनव्यालोलदीपांकुर-
च्छायाचञ्चलमाकलय्य सकलं सन्तो वनान्तं गताः ॥१२॥

43 आस्तामकण्टकमिदं वसुधाधिपत्यं
त्रैलोक्यराज्यमपि नैव[1] तृणाय मन्ये ।
निःशंकसुप्तहरिणीकुलसंकुलासु
चेतः परं वलति[2] शैलवनस्थलीषु ॥१३॥

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40 (१) अर्थं ख, (२) प्रत्यासन्नुभयं ख, (३) स्वजीवितं ख, ग, घ, (४) मन्योन्य-भावः पणः ख, च, छ. म ।

41 (१) विभृत क, (२) तृणं यथा म, (३) वीरा क, (४) स्वास्यै क, ख, स्वाम्ये म ।

42 (१) श्राव्यं म, (२) समैः समागम ख, (३) प्रान्त क, ख, ग, म, (सदुक्ति) ।

43 (१) देव ग, तच्च म, (२) वहति ग, विशति क, वलित म ।

44 हरिणचरणक्षुण्णोपान्ताः सशाद्वलनिर्झराः
कुसुमललितै[1]र्विष्वग्वातैस्तरंगितपादपाः ।
मुदित[2]विहगश्रेणीचित्रध्वनिप्रतिनादिता
मनसि न मुदं[3] केषां दध्युः शिवा वनभूमयः[4] ॥१४॥

45 ये[1] तीक्ष्णदुर्जननिकार[2]शरैर्न भिन्ना[3]
धीरास्त[4] एव शमसौख्यभुजस्त एव ।
सीमन्तिनीभुजलतागहनं व्युदस्य ।
येऽवस्थिताः शमफलेषु [5]तपोवनेषु ॥१५॥

46 कुरङ्गाः कल्याणं प्रतिविटपमारोग्यमटविं
स्रवन्ति[1] क्षेमं ते पुलिनकुशलं भद्रमुपलाः
निशान्तादस्वन्ता[2]त्कथमपि विनिष्क्रान्त[3]मधुना
मनोऽस्माकं दीर्घामभिलषति युष्मत्परिचितिम् ॥१६॥

47 वासो वल्कलमास्तरः किसलयान्योकस्तरूणां तलं
मूलानि क्षयते[1] क्षुधां गिरिनदीतोयं तृषां शान्तये[2] ।
क्रीडामुग्धमृगैर्वयांसि सुहृदो नक्तं प्रदीपः शशी
स्वाधीने विभवे[3] तथापि कृपणा याचन्त इत्यद्भुतम् ॥१७॥

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44 (१) कुसुमशरणैः क, घ, शबलै म, (सदुक्ति), (सु० र० को०), (२) विविध क, ख, घ, च, म, (३) मुदः म, (४) वनराजयः छ ।

45 (१) ते म, (२) निशात क, विकार म, (३) शरैरभिन्ना म, (४) धन्यास्त ख, (५) समसुखेषु ख ।

46 (१) श्रयन्ति म, (२) देहस्यात् ग, देहव.न्तात् घ, (३) च निष्क्रान्त (सदुक्ति) ।

47 (१) क्षतये म, (२) तृषाशान्तये क, ख, घ, म, (३) स्वाधीनेऽपि धने (सदुक्ति), (सु० र० को०)।

48 शय्या शाद्वलमासने[1] शुचिशिला सद्मद्रुमाणामधः
शीतं निर्झरवारिपानमशनं कन्दः सहाया मृगाः ।
इत्यप्रार्थितलभ्यसर्व[2]विभवे दोषोऽयमेको वने
दुष्प्रापार्थिनि यत्परार्थघटनावन्ध्यैर्वृथा[3] स्थीयते ॥१८॥

49 पूरयित्वार्थिनामाशां प्रियं कृत्वा द्विषामपि ।
पारं गत्वा श्रुतौघस्य धन्या वनमुपासते ॥१९॥

50 आहारः फलमूलमात्मरचिता[1] शय्या मही वल्कलं[2]
संवीताय[3] परिच्छदः कुशलमित्पुष्पाणि पुत्रा मृगाः ।
वस्त्रान्नाश्रय[4]दानभोगविभवा निर्यन्त्रणाः शाखिनो
मित्राणीत्यधिकं गृहेषु गृहिणां किं नाम दुःखावहे ॥२०॥

51 सार्वभौमभवनं वनवासो निःस्वभावभवभावनयाऽसौ[1]
बालिशो हि विषयेन्द्रियचौरैर्मुष्यते[2] स्वभवने च वने च ॥२१॥

52 वनेषु[1] दोषाः प्रभवन्ति रागिणां
गृहेषु पञ्चेन्द्रियनिग्रहस्तपः ।
अकुत्सिते कर्मणि यः प्रवर्तते
निवृत्तरागस्य गृहं तपोवनम् ॥२२॥

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48 (१) शाद्वलमासनं म, भूतलमासनं ग, आसनमेको घ, (२) सर्वलभ्य, (३) यत्नैर्विना क ख, ग, घ, म ।

50 (१) रचितं म, रुचिरं घ, रुचितं क, ख ग, च, छ, (२) बन्धनं ग, (३) सन्धीताय क, ग, (४) वस्त्रान्नासन क ।

51 (१) भावनायते क, भावनया ते म, (२) मुंच्यते म ।

52 (१) वने(ऽ)पि क, ख, ग, घ ।

53 विवेकः किं सोऽपि स्वरसजनिता[1] यत्र न कृपा
स किं योगो[2] यस्मिन्न भवति परानुग्रहरसः ।
स किं धर्मो यत्र स्फुरति न परद्रोह[3] विरतिः
श्रुतं किं तद्वा स्यादु[4]पशमपदं[5] यन्न भवति[6] ॥२३॥

54 अग्रे कस्यचिदस्ति कश्चिदभितः केनापि पृष्ठे कृतः
संसारः शिशुभावयौवनजराभारावतारादयम् ।
बालस्तं बहुमन्यतामसुलभं प्राप्तं युवा सेवतां
वृद्धस्त्वं[1] विषयाद्बहिष्कृत इव व्यावृत्य किं पश्यसि[2] ॥२४॥

55 पुत्रदारादिसंसारः पुंसां संमूढचेतसाम् ।
विदुषां शास्त्रसंसारः[1] सद्योगाभ्यास[2] विघ्नकृत् ॥२५॥

56 स्थूलप्रावरणोऽतिवृत्तकथकः[1] कासाश्रुलालाविलो
भग्नोरःकटिपृष्ठजानुदशनो[2] मुग्धोऽतिथीन्वारयन् ।
शृण्वन्धृष्टवधूवचांसि धनुषा संत्रासयन्वायसान्
आशापाशनिबद्धजीवविहगो[3] वृद्धो गृहे ग्लायति ॥२६॥

इति श्रीमहामहोपाध्यायशिल्हणकृते शान्तिशतके विवेकोदयो
नाम द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः ।

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53 (१) प्रकृतवलिता क, ग, घ, सुरसजनिका ख, स्वररसजनिता (का० सं०), स्वरस-वलिता (सदुक्ति), (सु० र० को०), (२) मार्गो (सु० र० को०), क, ख, ग, घ, (३) यस्मिन् न भवति परद्रोह घ, (४) श्रुतं तत्किं साक्षादु (सदुक्ति) । ख मातृ-कायमेतावत् पर्यन्तमेव समुपलभ्यते । (५) फलं (सु० र० भा०), (६) नयति (सु० र० को०), (सदुक्ति) ।

54 (१) वृद्धस्तद् क, ग, घ, वृद्धस्तं म, (२) पश्यति ग, घ ।

55 (१) सम्भारः ग, च, (२) वियोगाभ्यास क ।

56 (१) कथनः (सु० र० को०), पूर्वकथकः म, (२) जघनो (सु० र० को०), (३) विभवो क, ग, घ, च, म । अयं श्लोकः ग, घ, च, छ पुस्तकेषु नास्ति ।

तृतीयः परिच्छेदः

57 महता पूर्वपुण्येन[1] क्रीतेयं[2] कायनौ[3]स्त्वया ।
पारं दुःखोदधे[4] र्गन्तुं तव[5] यावन्नभिद्यते[6] ॥१॥

58 दिवसरजनीकूलच्छेदैः पतद्भिरनारतं
वहति निकटे कालस्रोतः समस्तभयावहम् ।
इह हि पततां[1] नास्त्यालम्बो न चापि निवर्तनं
तथापि[2] महतां[3] कोऽयं मोहो[4] यदेष मदाविलः[5] ॥२॥

59 अवश्यं यातारश्चिरतरमुषित्वापि विषया
वियोगे को भेद[1]स्त्यजति न जनो यत्स्वयमिमान्[2] ।
व्रजन्तः स्वातन्त्र्यात्परमपरितापाय मनसः
स्वयं त्यक्ता[3] ह्येते शमसुखमनन्तं विदधति ॥३॥

60 स्थिरापायः कायः प्रणयिषु सुखं स्थैर्यविमुखं
महाभोगो रोगः[1] कुवलयदृशः[2] सर्पसदृशः ।
गृहावेशः[3] क्लेशः प्रकृतिचपला श्रीरपि खला[4]
यमः[5] स्वैरी[6] वैरी तदपि न हितं कर्म विहितम् ॥४॥

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57 (१) पुण्यपथेन क, पुण्यपण्येन म, (२) क्रीतोऽयं क, ख, ग, घ, च, (३) काचन क, ख, ग, घ, च, (४) दुःखाम्बुधे च, छ, (५) त्वर म, त्वरया यत्न (का० सं०), (६) जीर्यते च, छ, ग ।

58 (१) पततो (सदुक्ति), (२) तदिह क, ग, घ, म, (३) विदुषां क, (४) दोषो म, (५) मनाविलः क, च, यदेव मनाकुलः (सदुक्ति), ग, च ।

59 (१) भेदः च, (२) स्वयममून् ग, (३) त्यक्त्वा (सु० र० को०), (वै० १७), मुक्ता म ।

60 (१) महारोगाः भोगाः (सु० र० को०), महाभोगा रोगाः म, (का० सं०), (२) समदृशः छ, (३) गृहावेश छ, क, महावेशः म (का० सं०), (४) सदा ग, तथा म, (का० सं०), (५) यशः म, (का० सं०), (६) स्मैरी म, (का० सं०) ।

61 भवारण्यं भीमं तनुगृहमिदं छिद्रबहुलं
वली कालश्चौरो नियतमसिता मोहरजनी ।
गृहीत्वा ज्ञानासिं विरतिफलकं शीलकवचं
समाधानं कृत्वा स्थिरतर[1]दृशो जाग्रत[2] जनाः ॥५॥

62 के यूयं भो[1] वयमपि चराः[2] कुत्र यामो[3] भवाब्धौ
कार्ये क्षीणाः[4] विषय[5]चलनैः[6] फेणवत् पुञ्जिताः स्मः ।
तत्क्षेपीयः क्षयिविषयत[7]श्चित्तमादाय[8] पुत्राः
सर्वारम्भैर्विशत[9] जगतामन्तरात्मन्यनन्ते ॥६॥

63 गृहे पर्यन्तस्थे[1] द्रविणकणमोषं श्रुतिरताः[2]
स्ववेश्मन्यारक्ताः कुरुत[3] लघु मार्गं समुचितम्[4] ।
नरान् देहाद् गेहात् प्रतिनियत[5]माकृष्य नयतः
कृतान्तात् किं शंका न भवति सदा[6] जाग्रत जनाः ॥७॥

64 सूक्तिं कर्णसुधां व्यनक्तु सुजनस्तस्मिन्[1] न मोदामहे
ब्रूतां वाचमसूयको विषमुचं तस्यां[2] न खिद्यामहे ।
या यस्य प्रकृतिः स तां वितनुतां किं नस्तया चिन्तया[3]
कुर्मस्तत्खलु कर्म जन्मनिगडच्छेदाय[4] यज्जायते ॥८॥

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61 (१) तव क, घ, (२) जागृत म ।

62 (१) नो क, ग, घ, म, (२) वयमिति वचः म, वयमिति च वः (का० सं०), (३) क्व भवामो क, ग, घ, के भवामो म, (४) कर्मेऽस्मिन् क्षीणा क, ग, घ, च, कर्मोर्मीणां म, (५) निचय (विषय) ग, च, विषम म, (६) चलनैः च, अयं श्लोकः घ, पुस्तके नास्ति, (७) क्षयिणि विषये म, (८) माधाय म, (९) लगत म ।

63 (१) पर्यङ्कस्थे, (२) श्रुतवताः च, ग, म, (३) रक्षा क्रियत क, ग, च, म, (४) मार्गोऽप्यमुचितः क, ग, घ, च, इति मार्गो म, (५) दिवस म, (६) रे जागृत म ।

64 (१) तस्यां क, च, छ, तस्मै (सदुक्ति), (२) तस्मिन् ग, घ, म, तस्मै (सदुक्ति), (३) जायते म, (४) जन्मनिगणच्छेदाय क, घ, च, छ ।

65 मन्नि[1]न्दया यदि जनः परितोषमेति
नन्वप्रयत्नसुलभोऽ[2]यमनुग्रहो मे ।
श्रेयार्थिनो हि[3] पुरुषाः परतुष्टिहेतो-
र्दुःखार्जितान्यपि धनानि परित्यजन्ति ॥९॥

66 कश्चित्पुमान् क्षिपति मामतिरूक्षशब्दैः[1]
सोऽहं क्षमाभवनमेत्य शमं[2] प्रयामि ।
शोकं व्रजामि पुनरेवमथं तपस्वी
चारित्रतः स्खलितवानिति मन्निमित्तम् ॥१०॥

67 स्वकर्म[1]पीडामपि चिन्तयन्यो[2] मत्पापशुद्धार्थं[3]मिह प्रवृत्तः ।
न चेत्क्षमामप्यहमस्य कुर्यां भवेत्[4] कृतघ्नो वद कीदृशोऽन्यः ॥११॥

68 नन्वा[1]त्मन्यवधीयतां गृहसुखाद्[2] वैराग्यमाधीयतां
रौद्रध्यान्[3] व्यवधीयतां[4] सुरसरित्तीरे सदा स्थीयताम् ।
भिक्षार्थं व्यवसीयतां समुचितं[5] सत्कर्म संचीयताम्
विष्णु[6]श्चेतसि धीयतां[7] परतरं ब्रह्मानुसन्धीयताम् ॥१२॥

69 यत्क्षान्तिः समये श्रुतिः शिव शिवेत्युक्तौ मनोनिर्वृति-
र्भैक्षे चाभिरुचिर्गृहेषु[1] विरतिः[2] शश्वत्समाधौ रतिः ।
एकान्ते वसतिर्गुरून्[3] प्रति नतिः[4] सद्भिः समं संगतिः
सत्ये[5] प्रीतिरनङ्गनिर्जितिरसौ सन्मुक्तिमार्गे स्थितिः ॥१३॥

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65 (१) मे म, (२) जनितो (सु० र० को०), (३) श्रेयार्थिनोऽपि च, (सु० र० भा०) ।

66 (१) वाक्यैः ग, च, छ, प्रति रूक्षवाक्यैः म, (का० सं०) (२) मुदं क, घ, च, म ।

67 (१) धर्म क, म, (२) पीडामपहाय योऽयं म, (३) शुद्ध्यर्थं म, (४) मत्तः म ।

68 (१) आत्मा म, (२) गृहवशाद् म; (३) बन्धुभ्यो म, (४) सीयतां च, छ, (५) प्रतिदिनं म, (६) कृष्ण ग, कोप म, (७) हीयतां म ।

69 (१) धनेषु म, (२) वनेषु वसति ग, कुलेषु विरतिः च, (३) गुरौ म, (४) गुरौ प्रणमतिः क, (५) सत्सु घ, सत्त्वे क, म ।

70 संभोगाद्विषयामिषस्य परितस्तैमित्यमस्ताखिल-
ज्ञानोन्मेषतया कथं तव भवेदात्मास्पदं देहिनः ।
साध्यं तद्धि तदेव साधनमितो[1] व्यावृत्तिरेवामिषात्
तस्यां[2] ज्योतिरुपैत्यनिन्धनमिदं दोषत्रयं धक्ष्यति ॥१४॥

71 बुद्धेरगोचरतया न गिरां प्रचारो,
दूरे गुरुप्रथितवस्तुकथावतारः[1] ।
तत्त्वं क्रमेण करुणादिगुणावदाते[2]
श्रद्धावतां हृदि पदं स्वयमादधाति ॥१५॥

72 दुःखाङ्गारकतप्तः[1] संसारोऽयं महानसो गहनः ।
इह विषयामिषलालस मानसमार्जार मा निपत[2] ॥१६॥

73 अरे चेतो मत्तः[1] भ्रमणमधुना यौवनजले
त्यज त्वं स्वच्छन्दं युवतिजलधौ पश्यसि न किम् ।
तनूजालीजालं स्तनयुगलतुम्बीफलयुतं
मनोभूः कैवर्त्तः क्षिपति रतितन्त्रं[2] प्रति मुहुः[3] ॥१७॥

74 तरुणिमसमारम्भे तस्याः शरीरसरोवरं
सरभस मनोहंस श्रीमत्प्रयासि कथं पुनः[1] ।
श्रवणलतिकापाशौ पार्श्वे प्रसारितपातितौ[2]
हतविधिवशाद्बन्धायान्धो न पश्यति किं भवान्[3] ॥१८॥

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70 (१) मितां म, (२) तस्मात् ग, घ, म ।

71 (१) कथाविचारः ग, (२) विदुषां करुणावदाते म ।

72 (१) तीव्रः—क, ख ग, घ, च, छ, म, (२) किं पतसि छ ।

73 (१) मतस्य क, ग, घ, च, मीन म, (२) परितस्त्वां म, (३) प्रतिमुग्धः ग ।

74 (१) मम क, (२) पातितैः क, ग, (३) श्लोकोऽयं म इति मातृकायां नोपलभ्यते ।

75 विषयविषधराणां दोषदंष्ट्राकटानाम्[1]
विषमविषयसंग[2]व्यक्तदुश्चेष्टितानाम् ।
विरम विरम चेतः सन्निधानादमीषाम्
सुखकणमणिहेतोः संगमं[3] मा स्म कार्षीः ॥१९॥

76 एकीभूय स्फुटमिव किमप्याचरद्भिः प्रलीनै-
रेभिर्धूर्तैः[1] स्मर कति[2] कृताः स्वान्त ! ते विप्रलम्भाः ।
तस्मादेषां त्यज परिचयं चिन्तय स्वव्यवस्थाम्
आभाणस्ते[3] किमु न विदितः खण्डितः पण्डितः स्यात् ॥२०॥

77 धूर्तैरिन्द्रियनामभिः प्रणयितामापादयद्भिः स्वयं
सम्भोक्तुं विषयामिषं[1] किल पुमान् सौख्याशयावञ्चितः ।
तैः सर्वैः[2] कृतकृत्यतामुपगतैर्बद्धा[3]स्यमालम्बितं
संप्रत्येष विधेर्नियोगवशगः कर्मान्तरैर्बध्यते ॥२१॥

78 दैवे समर्प्य चिरसंचितकर्मजालं[1]
सुस्थाः[2] सुखं वसत किं परयाचनाभिः ।
मेरुं प्रदक्षिणयतोऽपि दिवाकरस्य
ते तस्य सप्त तुरगा न कदाचिदष्टौ ॥२२॥

79 आकाशमुत्पततु गच्छतु वा दिगन्त-
मम्भोनिधिं विशतु तिष्ठतु वा यथेच्छम् ।
जन्मान्तरार्जितशुभाशुभकृन्नराणां
छायेव न त्यजति कर्मफलानुबन्धः[1] ॥२३॥

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75 (१) द्रोत्कराणाम् म, (२) विषयविषविमर्द म, (३) नाहो साहसं म ।

76 (१) भूतैः म, (२) कृति म, (३) आभाषस्ते म ।

77 (१) नयं म (२) शेषैः क, ग, घ, च, (सु० र० को०), शेषे म, (३) रौदा म ।

78 (१) मोहजालं क, घ, च, म, मोहभारं (सु० र० को०), (२) स्वस्थाः (सु० र० को०) ।

79 (१) बन्धिः च, ग ।

80 उपशमफलाद्विद्यावीजात्फलं धनमिच्छतां[1]
भवति विफलो यत्प्रारम्भस्तदत्र[2] किमद्भुतम् ।
नियतविषया ह्येते[3] भावा न यान्ति विपर्ययं[4]
जनयति यतः[5] शालेर्वीजं न जातु यवाङ्कुरम् ॥२४॥

81 यदेते साधूनामुपरि विमुखाः सन्ति[1] धनिनो
न चैषावज्ञैषामपि[2] तु निजवित्तव्ययभयम् ।
अतः खेदो नास्मिन्परममनुकम्पैव भवति
स्वमांसत्रस्तेभ्यः क इह हरिणेभ्यः परिभवः ॥२५॥

82 तस्मादनन्तमजरं परमं विकासि[1]
ब्रह्मैव[2] वाञ्छत बुधा[3] यदि चेतनास्ति ।
यस्यानुसंगत[4] इमे भुवनाधिपत्य-
भोगादयः क्षयिण एव सतां विभान्ति[5] ॥२६॥

इति श्रीमहामहोपाध्यायशिल्हणकृते शान्तिशतके कर्त्तव्योपदेशो
नाम तृतीयः परिच्छेदः ।

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80 (१) फलान्तरमि° म, (२) प्रारम्भो यत्तदत्र (सु० र० को०), (३) सर्वे (सु० र० को०), (४) विक्रियां (सु० र० को०), (५) जनयितुमलं (सु० र० को०) ।

81 (१) मुखरा एव (सदुक्ति), (२) न सावज्ञैरेषामपि (सदुक्ति) ।

82 (१) विकाशि म, (२) तद्ब्रह्म क, ग, घ, च, छ, म, वै० ७८, (३) जना, वै० (४) नुषज्ञत म, (५) भोगादयः कृपणलोकगता भवन्ति घ, वै०, विशन्ति ग ।
इति शान्तिशतके महाकाव्ये (?) कर्त्तव्योपदेश नाम तृतीयः परिच्छेदः ।
पत्र संख्या ८ ख ।

चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः

83 लक्ष्मीर्निर्वृतिमेति हीनचरितैर्यैरेव तच्छिक्षया
किं नाद्यैव करोमि तामनुचरीं रामां सकामामिव ।
ब्रह्माण्डे निपतत्यपि स्खलति न प्रायेण येषां मन-
स्तेषामार्यमनस्विनामनुपदं गन्तास्मि नाहं यदि ॥१॥

84 लब्धाः श्रियः सकल[1]कामदुघास्ततः किम् ?
संवर्धिताः[2] प्रणयिनो विभवैस्ततः किम् ?
न्यस्तं पदं शिरसि विद्विषतां ततः किम् ?
कल्पं स्थितं तनुभृतां तनुभिस्ततः किम् ॥२॥

85 निष्कन्दाः किमु कन्दरोदरभुवः क्षीणास्तरूणां त्वचः
किं शुष्काः सरितः स्फुरद्गिरिगुरुग्रावस्खलद्वीचयः ।
प्रत्युत्थानमितस्ततः प्रतिदिनं कुर्वद्भिरुद्ग्रीविभि-
र्यद्द्वारार्पितदृष्टिभिः क्षितिभुजां विद्वद्भिरप्यास्यते ॥३॥

86 कामं जीर्णपलाशसंहतिकृतां कन्थां वसानो वने
कुर्यामम्बुभिरप्ययाचितसुखैः प्राणानुबन्धस्थितिम् ।
साङ्गग्लानि सवेपितं सचकितं सान्त[1]र्निदाघज्वरं
वक्तुं न त्वहमुत्सहे सकृपणं देहीति दीनं[2] वचः ॥४॥

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84. (१) सपदि क, (२) संतर्पिताः ग, घ, म ।

86 (१) स्वान्त म, (२) देहीत्यवद्यं (सु० र० को०) ।

87 सत्यं वक्तुमशेषमस्ति सुलभा वाणी मनोहारिणी
दातुं दानवरं शरण्यमभयं स्वच्छं पितृभ्यो जलम् ।
पूजार्थं परमेश्वरस्य विमलः स्वाध्याययज्ञः परम्
क्षुद्व्याधेः फलमूलमस्ति शमनं क्लेशात्मकैः किं धनैः ॥५॥

88 सन्ति स्वादुफला वनेषु तरवः स्वच्छं पयो निर्झरम्
वासो वल्कलमाश्रयो गिरिगुहा शय्या लतापल्लवाः[1] ।
आलोकाय निशासु चन्द्रकिरणाः सख्यं कुरङ्गैः सह
स्वाधीने विभवेऽप्यहो नरपतिं सेवन्त इत्यद्भुतम्[2] ॥६॥

89 पाणिः पात्रं पवित्रं भ्रमणपरिगतं भैक्ष्य[1]मक्षय्यमन्नं
वस्त्रं विस्तीर्णमाशादशकममलिनं[2] तल्पमस्वल्पमुर्वी ।
येषां निःसङ्गताङ्गीकरणपरिणतिः[3] स्वान्त[4]सन्तोषिणस्ते,
धन्याः संन्यस्तदैन्यव्यतिकरनिकराः कर्म निर्मूलयन्ति ॥७॥

90 महा[1]शय्या भूमिर्मसृण[2]मुपधानं भुजलता
वितानञ्चाकाशं व्यजन[3]मनुकूलोऽयमनिलः ।
स्फुरच्चन्द्रो दीपो[4] स्वधृति[5]वनितासङ्गमुदितः
सुखं शान्तः शेते न खलु भवभीतो[6]नृप इव ॥८॥

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88 (१) वल्लरी (सु० र० भा०), (२) मूढा नराः क, ग, घ ।

89 (१) भैक्ष म, (का० सं०), (२) पमलं क, घ, (सदुक्ति०), (वै० ५४), (३) चितिः म, चितः (का० सं०), (४) स्वात्म (वै०) ।

90 (१) सुखा घ, च, छ, (२) निर्म्मल ग, विपुलं (वै०), (३) सन म, (४) स्फुरद्दीपश्चन्द्रः (सदुक्ति०), (५) विरति क, च, छ, (वै०), सुरभि (सदुक्ति०) (६) ननु च भवभीतो (सदुक्ति०), न खलु रिपुभीतो क, विगत भवभीतिः (सु० र० भा०), (का० सं०), विगत तव भीतिः म ।

91 धैर्यं यस्य पिता क्षमा च जननी शान्तिश्चिरं गेहिनी,
सत्यं सूनुरयं दया च भगिनी भ्राता मनः संयमः।
शय्या भूमितलं दिशोऽपि वसनं ज्ञानामृतं भोजन-
मेते यस्य[1] कुटुम्बिनो वद सखे कस्माद्भयं योगिनः ॥९॥

92 धिक् धिक् तान्कृमिनिर्विशेषवपुषः स्फूर्जन्महासिद्धयो
निष्पन्दीकृतशान्तयोऽपि[1] च तपः[2] कारागृहे स्वासिते[3]।
तं विद्वांस[4]मिह स्तुमः करपुटीभिक्षाल्प[5]शाकेऽपि वा[6]
बालावक्त्र[7]सरोजिनीमधुनि वा यस्याविशेषो रसः[8] ॥१०॥

93 मातर्लक्ष्मि भजस्व किञ्चिद[1]परं मत्काङ्क्षिणी मा स्म भू-
र्भोगेभ्यः स्पृहयालवस्तव वशाः का निःस्पृहाणामसि[2]।
सद्यः स्यूत[3]पलाशपत्रपुटिकापात्रे[4] पवित्रीकृतै-[5]
र्भिक्षासक्तुभिरेव संप्रति वयं वृत्तिं समीहामहे ॥११॥

94 जिह्वे लोचन नासिके श्रवण हे त्वक् चापि नो वार्यसे[1],
सर्वेभ्योऽस्तु[2] नमस्कृताञ्जलिरहं सप्रश्रयं प्रार्थये।
युष्माकं यदि संमतं तदधुना नात्मानमिच्छाम्यहं-
होतुं[3] भूमिभुजां निकारदहनज्वालाकराले गृहे ॥१२॥

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91 यस्यैते (का० सं०)।

92 (१) शान्तिर्येऽपि (सु० र० भा०), (२) तमः क, घ, (३) गृहाच्चासते क, गृहेष्वासते म, (४) त्वं विद्वांसमिह च, घ, (५) भिक्षान्न क, (६) साकेऽपि (वा) क, च, घ, (७) रक्त क, घ, मुग्धावक्त्रमृणालिनी (सु० र० को०), (८) वशः म।

93 (१) कञ्चिद क, घ, च, (२) का का निःस्पृहानामसि म, मपि क, च, (३) सूत म, (४) पुटिकापात्री (सु० र० को०), (५) कृते म।

94 (१) स्पर्श नो वार्य्यसे ग, कुत्रापि नो च, (२) सर्वेभ्यस्तु, (३) हेतुं च।

95 गतः कालो यत्र प्रणयिनि[1] मयि प्रेमकुटिलः
कटाक्षः कालिन्दीलघुलहरिवृत्तिः प्रभवति ।
इदानीमस्माकं जठर[2]कमठीपृष्ठकठिना
मनोवृत्तिस्तत् किं व्यसनिनि मुधैव[3] क्षपयसि ॥१३॥

96 यदासीदज्ञानं स्मरतिमिरसंस्कार[1]जनितम्
तदा दृष्टं नारीमय[2]मिदमशेषं जगदपि[3] ।
इदानीमस्माकं[4] पटुतरविवेकाञ्जनजुषां
समीभूता[5] दृष्टिस्त्रिभुवनमपि [6]ब्रह्म मनुते ॥१४॥

97 गतः कालो यत्र द्विचरणपशूनां क्षितिभुजां
पुरः स्वस्तीत्युक्त्वा विषयसुखमास्वादितमभूत् ।
इदानीमस्माकं तृणमिव समस्तं कलयता-
मपेक्षा भिक्षायामपि किमपि चेतस्त्रपयति[1] ॥१५॥

98 पूर्वं तावत्कुवलयदृशां लीललोलैरपाङ्गै-
राकर्षाभिः[1] किमपि हृदयं पूजिता यौवनश्रीः ।
संप्रत्यन्तर्निहितसदसद्भावलब्धप्रबोध-
प्रत्याहारापहृतहृदयो[2] वर्तते कोऽपि भावः ॥१६॥

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95 (१) प्रियसखि (सु० र० को०), (२) जरठ (सदुक्ति), (३) व्यसनि विमुखैव म ।

96 (१) सन्मोह क, (२) वामामवमिदं क, तदाज्ञातं तारामय म, (३) जगदिदं क, (४) त्वस्माकं (सु० र० को०), (५) समीतुल्या क, समीभूत्वा च, ग, (६) त्रिभुवनमिदं क ।

97 (१) क्षपयति ग, च, छ ।

98 (१) राकर्षद्भि (सदुक्ति), (का० सं०), (२) प्रत्याहारैर्विशदहृदये म ।

99 दिशो वासः पात्रं करकुहरमेणाः प्रणयिनः
समाधानं निद्रा शयनमवनी मूलमशनम् ।
कदैतत्सम्पूर्णं मम हृदयवृत्तेरभिमतं
भविष्यत्येवायुः[१] परमपरितोषोपचितये ॥१७॥

100 कदा भिक्षाभक्तैः[१] करगलित[२]गंगाम्बुतरलैः
शरीरं मे स्थास्यत्युपरतसमस्तेन्द्रियसुखम् ।
कदा ब्रह्माभ्यासस्थिरतनुतयारण्यविहगाः
पतिष्यन्ति स्थाणुभ्रमहतधियः स्कन्धशिरसि ॥१८॥

101 गंगातीरे हिमगिरिशिलाबद्धपद्मासनस्य
ब्रह्मध्याना[१]भ्यसनविधिना योगनिद्रां गतस्य[२] ।
किं तैर्भाव्यं मम सुदिवसैर्यत्र ते निर्विशंकाः
संप्राप्स्यन्ते[३] जरठ[४]हरिणाः गात्रकण्डूविनोदम् ॥१९॥

102 वन्या[१]न्तश्चरतस्तथा धृतजरत्कन्थापटस्या[२]शुगैः[३]
सत्रासञ्च सकौतुकं सचकितं[४] दृष्टस्य तैर्नागरैः ।
निर्बीजी[५]कृतचित्सुधारसमुदानिद्रायमाणस्य मे
निःशङ्कं करटः कदा करपुटीभिक्षां विमुञ्चिष्यति[६] ॥२०॥

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99 (१) भविष्यत्यत्युग्रं (सु० र० को०) ।

100 (१) भक्ष्यः (सदुक्ति), (२) कलित ग, घ, म ।

101 (१) ज्ञाना म, (२) निद्रासनस्य क, (३) संज्ञास्यन्ते म, (४) जठर (का० सं०) ।

102 (१) रथ्या म, रत्या च, घ, (२) कन्थाञ्चलस्या घ, ग, (का० सं०), (३) अध्वगैः क, ग, (का० सं०), (४) सकौतुकञ्च सकृपं म, (५) निर्व्याजी च, (६) विलुण्ठिष्यति म ।

103 पणाक्षीस्पृहयाद्भुता[1] न कथमप्यास्ते विवेकोदयः[2]
नित्यप्रच्युति[3]शङ्कया क्षणमपि स्वर्गे न मोदामहे।
अल्पा[4]न्येषु विलासि[5]वस्तुविषयाभोगेषु तृष्णा[6] न मे,
स्वर्नद्याः[7] पुलिने परं हरिपदं ध्यातुं[8] मनो वाञ्छति ॥२१॥

104 मातर्माये भगिनि कुमते हे पितर्मोहजाल
व्यावर्त्तध्वं भवतु भवतामेष दीर्घो वियोगः।
सद्यो लक्ष्मीरमणचरणभ्रष्टगङ्गाप्रवाह-
व्यामिश्रायां दृषदि परमब्रह्मदृष्टिर्भवामि ॥२२॥

105 मातर्मेदिनि तात मारुत सखे ज्योतिः सुबन्धो जल
भ्रातर्व्योम निबद्ध एव[1] भवतामन्त्यः[2] प्रणामाञ्जलिः।
युष्मत्संगवशोपजातसुकृतो[3]द्रेकः स्फुरन्निर्मल-
ज्ञानापास्तसमस्तमोह[4]महिमा लीये परे ब्रह्मणि ॥२३॥

106 आशा नाम नदी मनोरथजला तृष्णातरंगाकुला
रागग्राहमयी[1] वितर्कविहगाः धैर्यद्रुमध्वंसिनी।
मोहावर्तसुदुस्तरातिगहना [2]प्रोत्तुंगचिन्तातटी
तस्याः पारगता विशुद्धमनसो नन्दन्ति योगीश्वराः ॥२४॥

इति श्रीशान्तिशतके ब्रह्मप्राप्तिर्नाम चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः।

इति श्री महामहोपाध्यायश्रीशिल्हणकृतं शान्तिशतकंसमाप्तम्।
शकाब्दाः १७२४ श्रीईश्वरचन्द्रदेवशर्मणः पुस्तकमिदं स्वाक्षरञ्च।

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103 (१) यात्युता घ, यालुता म, (२) विवेकोदयात् क, म, (३) त्यति क, घ, च, (४) अप्यन्येषु म, (५) विनाशि म, (६) स्वर्गो क, ग, (७) स्वर्णद्याः म, (का० सं०), (८) हरिपदध्यानं म।

105 (१) एष म, (२) भवतामस्तु म, (३) सुहृतो क, (४) दोष क।

106 (१) रागद्वेषमयी क, रागग्राहवती ग, म, (२) प्रकटित म।

शान्तिशतकस्य कतिपयमातृकासूपलभ्यमानाः अधिकाः श्लोकाः

(१) अलमतिचपलत्वात्स्वप्नमायोपमत्वात्
परिणतिविरसत्वात् सङ्गमेनाङ्गनायाः ।
इति यदि शतकृत्वस्तत्त्वमालोचयामः
तदपि न हरिणाक्षीं विस्मरत्यन्तरात्मा ॥
(ख. ग. घ. च)

(२) आदित्यस्य गतागतैरहरहः संक्षीयते जीवनम्
व्यापारैर्बहुकार्यभारगुरुभिः कालोऽपि न ज्ञायते ।
दृष्ट्वा जन्मजरावियोगमरणं त्रासश्च नोत्पद्यते
पीत्वा मोहमयीं प्रमादमदिरामुन्मत्तभूतं जगत् ।
(घ)

(३) संसारमृगतृष्णासु मनो धावसि किं मुधा ।
अनाविलमिदं ब्रह्मसरः किं नावगाहसे ॥
(घ)

(४) पातालमाविशसि यासि नभो विलंघ्य
दिङ्मंडलं भ्रमसि मानस चापलेन ।
भ्रान्त्याति जातु विमलं न तदात्मनि त्वं
तद्ब्रह्म संस्पृशसि निर्वृतिमेसि केन ॥
(घ)

(५) अहंकार, क्वापि व्रज वृजिन हे मा त्वमिह भू-
रभूर्भिर्दर्पाणामहमपसर त्वं पिशुन हे।
अरे क्रोध स्थानान्तरमनुसरानन्यमनसां
त्रिलोकीनाथो नो हृदि वसतु देवो हरिरसौ ॥
(ग. च)

(६) मयि मेघाम्बुधौ स्वच्छे तत्त्वोऽयं विश्वबुद्बुदः
विलोलतडितो वेति विकल्पपटलः कुतः ।।
(च. व. ग)

(७) इतो न किञ्चित् परतो न किञ्चित् यतो यतो यामि ततो न किञ्चित्।
विचार्य पश्यामि जगन्न किञ्चित्, स्वात्मावबोधादधिकं न किञ्चित्।
(ग. च.)

शान्तिशतकस्थपद्यानां सस्थाननिर्देशमनुक्रमकोशः

श्लोकांशाः	श्लोकसंख्या
कामं जीर्णपलाशसंहति (सु० र० को०)	८६
कामं वनेषु हरिणास्तृणेन (सदुक्ति०)	१५
कुरङ्गाः कल्याणं प्रतिविटपम् (सु० र० को०)	४६
कृत्वा शस्त्रविभीषिकां	१०
कृमिकुलचितं (नीति० ३३) (सु० र० को०)	३८
केनाप्यनर्थरुचिना	३२
के यूयं भो वयमपि	६२
क्व गन्तासि भ्रातः	१७
क्वैतद्वक्त्रारविन्दं	२८
क्षान्तं न क्षमया	८
गंगातीरे हिमगिरि (वैराग्य ४३)	१०१
गतः कालो यत्र (सु० र० को०)	९५, ९७
गृहे पर्यन्तस्थे	६३
जन्मेदं व्यर्थतां नीतं	१२
जिह्वे लोचन	९४
तडिन्मालालोलं (सदुक्ति०) (वैराग्य ७८)	२१
तरुणिमसमारम्भे	७४
तस्मादनन्तमजरं (वैराग्य ७८)	८२
त्वामुदर साधु मन्ये	२४
ददति तावदमी (सदुक्ति०) (सु० र० को०)	३५
दिवसरजनीकूलच्छेदैः	५८
दिशो वासः पात्रं (सु० र० को०)	९९
दुःखांगारकतप्त	७२
दैवे समर्प्य चिरसंचित (सु० र० को०)	७८
धन्यानां गिरिकन्दरोदर (वैराग्य १०५)	४
धिक् धिक् तान्कृमि	९२

शान्तिशतके उद्धृतानां ग्रन्थानां सूचीबन्धः नामसंक्षिप्तिश्च

ऋग्वेद—अजमेर, सं० १६२२ ।

कम्पं० टु सं० लि०—ए कम्पैनियन टु संस्कृत लिटरेचर, एस० सी० बनर्जी ।

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रतिमन्मथनाटकम्

डा० जगन्नाथ पाठकः

ख्रिस्तीयाष्टादशशतके समुत्पन्नेन महाराष्ट्रवास्तव्येन 'नित्योत्सव' नाम्नस्तन्त्रग्रन्थस्य प्रणेत्रा जगन्नाथपण्डितस्य नाटकमिदं विद्यापीठेन सद्य एव प्राकाश्यं नीतम् । पूर्वं मुम्बय्या ग्रन्थमालायां प्रकाशितमपि नाटकं असमीक्षात्मकमप्राप्यञ्चेति कृत्वा पाण्डुलिपित्रयस्य साहाय्येन सम्पादितमिदं विदुषामाकलनायालम् ।